DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 026 157 RC 003 014

By-Abramson, Jane A.
Rural to Urban Adjustment
Canadian Minister of Forestry and Rural Development, Ottawa (Ontario).
Spons Agency-Canadian Agricultural and Rural Development Act Branch, Edmonton (Alberta).
Report No-ARDAP-37003; ARR-RE-4
Pub Date May 68
Note-172p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.75 HC-$8.70
Descriptors-*Adjustment (to Environment), Conflict Resolution, Economic Factors, Interviews, Participant Characteristics, *Predictive Measurement, *Relocation, *Rural Farm Residents, Rural Urban Differences, *Urban Immigration
Identifiers-*Saskatchewan

Personal interviews with 100 former farm operators living in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, were conducted in an attempt to understand the nature of the adjustment process caused by migration from rural to urban surroundings. Requirements for inclusion in the study were that respondents had owned or operated a farm for at least 3 years, had left their farms within 10 years of the interview, and were below retirement age and still in the labor force at the time of migration. Pre-migration characteristics, the migration decision process, and post-migration adjustment were analyzed to determine if urban adjustment could be predicted prior to migration. A predictive index was developed, based on the variables of educational level, previous non-agricultural work experience, previous geographic mobility, type of migration decision process, and selectivity in choosing a new location. (JH)

ED026157

ARDA

DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

CANADA

RECEIVED
DEC 5 1968
E.R.I.C.

Issued by:

E. Burke Nagle
Liaison & Public Information ARDA
Program Development Division
Department of Agriculture
503 Agriculture Bldg., EDMONTON
Tel. 229-4270

RURAL TO URBAN ADJUSTMENT

J. A. ABRAMSON

ARDA RESEARCH REPORT No. RE-4

RE 003 074

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

RURAL TO URBAN ADJUSTMENT

by

JANE A. ABRAMSON, M.A.
Canadian Centre
for Community Studies,
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan

This project was initiated and financed by the Rural Development Branch, Department of Forestry and Rural Development, Ottawa, under the Agricultural and Rural Development Act.

ARDA Project #37003

May 1968

**Published under the authority of
Minister of Forestry and Rural Development
Ottawa, 1968.**

FOREWORD

ARDA is more than an Act of Parliament. It is more than policymakers, administrators, planners and researchers; more than problems; more than resources that need to be developed or reorganized. It is, above all, a means of improving the lot of rural people, of helping them to rise above the conditions that cramp their lives and stifle their hopes for their children.

A program such as this, if it is to work well, demands understanding and co-operation at all levels - family, community, regional, provincial and national. To know what is needed, and how the needs may be met, demands research and study. That is why so much effort, both federal and provincial, has been put into ARDA research. That is also the reason why as many people as possible, among those involved in ARDA, should have access to the results of the research.

The federal ARDA administration has undertaken to publish and distribute research reports that provide useful background information, not only for those who make the decisions, but for those who carry out the decisions and those who are affected by them. The research study reported in this volume, *Rural to Urban Adjustment*, was sponsored by the Government of Canada.

Maurice Sauvé
Minister of Forestry
and Rural Development
Canada

PREFACE

This study provides a much needed understanding of what happens when families struggle with the decision to give up farming, and how this struggle carries over and influences adjustments following migration into an urban milieu. Students of urban poverty have been warning us that rural migrants are destined to become the new urban poor unless corrective measures are taken.

As a social-psychologist, Mrs. Abramson has studied the decision-making process involved in a variety of situations in which choices are made by individuals. Her data suggest that the rural migrants of today and tomorrow are likely to be not only *poor* but socially and psychologically *disadvantaged.*

Mrs. Abramson has gone to some trouble in spelling out the institutional and personal conditions necessary to make urban adjustment a rewarding experience for the rural migrant. Although governments have a vital role to play in both institutional and personal decisions to change, they are dependent upon community action to remove or reduce many crippling disadvantages associated with migration. Governments and communities must work together in developing new services, providing demonstrations, undertaking experiments, working out new methods and stimulating local understanding and support.

This study is one of more than a dozen undertaken by the Centre for Community Studies and financed by ARDA. These studies, taken together, provide a useful overview of the physical, economic, social and psychological circumstances associated with rural development.

W.B. Baker, President,
Canadian Centre
for Community Studies,
May 16, 1966.

CONTENTS

Chapter Page

I INTRODUCTION 1
  Context of the Research 1
  Objectives of the Study 4
  Methods of the Study 5
  Limitations of the Study 6

II FARM SITUATION BEFORE MIGRATION 8
  Interplay of Economic, Social and Personal Factors 9
  Characteristics of the Farms 10
    Location 10
    Distance from Services 12
    Tenure 13
    Size 14
    Type 14
    Off-Farm Employment 14
    Farm Income 15
    Mechanization 17
  Level of Living on the Farm 19
  Farm Ecology 22
    Family Roles 22
    Farm Family's Relation to Animals, Crops and Land 23
    Farmer's Sense of Independence 24
    Time on the Farm 25
  Identification of Self with Farm 25
  Social Milieu 26
  Social and Economic Changes 29

III MIGRANT FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS 31
  Birthplace 31
  Farm Backgrounds 32
  Previous Mobility 32
  Migration Age 33
  Health 34
  Family Composition 36
  Retention of Farm Ownership 37
  Education 38
  Occupational Experience 39
  Membership in Formal Social Organizations 41
  Clustering of Disadvantages 44

Chapter Page

IV DECISION PROCESS IN MIGRATION.................... 46
Motives and Attitudes........................... 47
Reasons for Leaving the Farm.................... 49
Employment Expectations in the City............ 50
Choosing a New Location......................... 53
Types of Decision Processes..................... 55
1. Long-Term Attempts at Problem Solving... 56
2. Short-Term, Low-Conflict Decision Process................................ 57
3. Long-Term, High-Conflict Decision Process................................ 58

V ADJUSTMENT TO URBAN ENVIRONMENT................. 61
Length of Time since Respondents Discontinued Farming.................................. 63
Employment...................................... 63
Additional Education or Training since Migration................................ 70
Income.. 71
Housing... 76
Social Integration.............................. 80
Adjustment to the Physical Setting............ 84
Psychological Problems.......................... 85
Changes in Attitudes toward Farm and City..... 87

VI PREDICTION OF URBAN ADJUSTMENT BEFORE MIGRATION. 92
Development of an Index of General Urban Adjustment............................... 94
Problems of Adjustment Encountered by the Three Adjustment Groups.................... 95
Relation between Duration of Urban Residence and Adjustment.............................. 99
Relation between Age and Adjustment........... 100
Relation between Education and Adjustment..... 100
Relation between Non-Agricultural Work Experience and Adjustment.................. 101
Relation between Previous Mobility and Adjustment.............................. 103
Relation between Attitudes toward the Farm and Adjustment.............................. 103
Relation between Selectivity in Migration and Adjustment.............................. 106
Relation between Adjustment of Other Family Members and Respondents' Adjustment......... 106
Factors Not Significantly Related to Adjustment in the Present Study............. 108
A Feasibility Experiment with a Predictive Index to Urban Adjustment.................. 108

Chapter Page

VII SUMMARY.. 111
Characteristics of the Farm and Community Situation before Migration.................. 111
Personal Characteristics of Migrants at the Time of Migration.................... 115
Migration Decision Process.................... 117
Process of Adjustment to the Urban Environment................................. 119
Current State of Adjustment................... 122
Prediction of Urban Adjustment before Migration.................................. 123

Appendix

I AUTHOR'S COMMENTS............................ 126

II INDEX OF GENERAL URBAN ADJUSTMENT............... 146

III PREDICTIVE INDEX TO URBAN ADJUSTMENT............ 147

IV INTERVIEW SCHEDULE............................ 148

REFERENCES................................... 158

Figure

1 Location of the Respondents' Former Farms....... 11

2 Location in Saskatoon of the Respondents' Homes, Spring, 1965.......................... 113

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Percentage of Farms at Various Distances from Services	13
2	Respondents' Gross Income from Sale of Farm Products	16
3	Respondents' Net Income from Farm and Non-Farm Sources	17
4	Comparison of Mechanization of Respondents' Farms with that of Commercial Farms in Saskatchewan - 1961	18
5	Comparison of Farm Home Amenities of Two Groups of Farmers	20
6	Kinds of Help Given or Received from Neighbours and Relatives	27
7	Participation in Farm Community Activities	28
8	Comparison of Migrants' Ages at Time of Moving with Saskatoon Males in Labour Force	33
9	Respondents' Cash Balance from Sale of Farm	38
10	Education of Respondents Compared with Saskatoon Males Aged 20-65	38
11	Work Done by Respondents before Leaving the Farm	41
12	Respondents' Pre-Migration Memberships in Voluntary Organizations Compared with Farmers in Two Census Division 16 Areas and U.S. Rural Farm Residents	42
13	Church Affiliation before Migration	43
14	Respondent's Age at Removal Related to Pre-Migration Non-Farm Job Experience	44
15	Age at Removal Related to Respondent's Education	44
16	Education Related to Respondent's Pre-Migration Non-Farm Job Experience	45
17	Reasons Given for Migration	51

Table		Page
18	Respondents' Employment Expectations before Migration	52
19	Respondents' Reasons for Choosing Saskatoon	55
20	Respondents' Unemployment Experiences	65
21	Employed Respondents Compared with Employed Men in Saskatoon	68
22	Respondents' Post-Migration Education or Training	70
23	Respondents' Annual Family Incomes in 1965 Compared with Saskatoon Incomes, 1961	72
24	Employment of Wives in Various Income Groups	73
25	Annual Family Incomes Compared with Length of Urban Employment	74
26	Respondents' City Incomes Compared with Gross Income on Farm	75
27	City Income by Respondent Age Group	75
28	City Income by Respondent Educational Group	76
29	Comparison of the Number of Rooms in Farm and City Homes	79
30	Comparison of Informal Visiting with Relatives and Friends in the Country and in the City	83
31	Respondents' Attitude toward the City by Length of Off-Farm Residence	88
32	Respondents' Attitude toward Farm Life by Length of Off-Farm Residence	89
33	Number of Problem Areas Mentioned by Adjustment Groups	96
34	Reported Difficulties of Adjustment Groups	97
35	Relation between Duration of Urban Residence and Adjustment	99
36	Relation between Age and Adjustment	100
37	Relation between Education and Urban Adjustment	101
38	Relation between Non-Agricultural Work and Adjustment	102
39	Relation between Pre-Migration Expectations about Earnings and Adjustment	102

Table Page

40 Relation between Pre-Migration Mobility and Adjustment.............................. 103

41 Relation between Attitudes toward Farm Life and Adjustment.............................. 105

42 Relation between Decision Process Preceding Migration and Adjustment.................... 105

43 Relation between Memberships of Other Family Members in Formal Urban Organizations and Adjustment of Male Head...................... 107

44 Relation between Predictive Index Scores and Adjustment Group.......................... 109

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to thank everyone who so graciously gave of their time and advice in carrying out the study and in preparing the manuscript. It is not possible to cite everyone who helped, but her gratitude is due to various members of civic, government, university and farm organizations, and the interviewers, data processors, editors, and professional colleagues. Above all her thanks go to the hundred respondents without whom the study would not have been possible.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Context of the Research

Movement of population is one of the basic ways by which societies accommodate to a variety of economic problems. In twentieth century Canada a major adjustment of this sort has involved the migration of many thousands from rural areas into urban centres as the result of fundamental structural trends affecting both agriculture and industry. The growth of industry in the cities, creating new jobs and opportunities, has been paralleled by trends toward mechanization, commercialization and consolidation of farms, which have made it impossible for smaller farmers to survive economically.

During the decade 1951-1961, the farm population in Canada decreased by 19 per cent while the population in metropolitan areas increased by about 45 per cent.[1] In Saskatchewan, where the present study was carried out, farm operators who were between 25 and 54 years of age in 1951, decreased by nearly 10,000. Thus many Canadians now living in urban centres have shared the experience of moving from a farm environment to an urban one, and of going through the necessary and often painful learning processes involved in the adjustment to a new way of life. (Note 1. - All Notes are to be found in Appendix I.)

Most of this large-scale movement from farms to urban centres has occurred without government intervention or assistance. The migration process might be considered a "natural" adjustment, which rectifies an imbalance in the economy while it provides the migrants with opportunities for greater achievements and rewards. Yet this "natural" process is a slow and costly one. Studies in North America demonstrate that migrants from rural areas to urban centres have a role in society similar to that played by earlier waves of immigrants from other continents. They tend to move into low-status positions, provide the basis for the upward mobility of native urbanites, and suffer the penalties of being *relatively poor* strangers in an urban society (Sibley 1962, Lipset 1955).

---

[1] All population statistics are from the 1961 Census of Canada unless otherwise indicated.

Even when the individual migrates on his own initiative, society as a whole has an interest in reducing the time and travail involved in his adjustment to the new environment. The justification for government expenditures on human development and adjustment services for migrants may be derived from various criteria, including: the happiness and well-being of individual citizens, provision of equitable opportunities for all, realization of the full productive potential of all members of society in order to increase the well-being of the whole, and protection of society from the consequences of social dislocation and personal disorganization.

The general concern and responsibility of government for displaced and mobile populations have changed in recent years. A shortage of skilled labour in an expanding and changing economy points to large-scale manpower programs involving induced labour mobility. Rural redevelopment projects sponsored by ARDA have already, through land-purchase programs, separated numbers of farmers from their land. Most of the ARDA funds available to the Province of Saskatchewan have been used for establishing community pastures on land of low productivity, resulting in the displacement of farmers whose homes had been in pasture areas. Other regional redevelopment plans, like those for the Gaspé, call for the induced migration of thousands of farm and rural non-farm people who cannot be adequately supported by the area's resources.

Induced migration for social objectives includes both the use of *pushes* to encourage moves away from an area that is over-populated relative to its resources, and *pulls* to attract moves to an area which can absorb migrants or lacks the population needed for economic development. It also requires a balance between the labour force and the opportunities for employment. Failure to provide for all parts of this equation may result in the miscarriage or displacement of objectives. Similarly, the creation of new jobs and new industries will fall short of its promise in the absence of properly trained men to fill the vacancies. Thus the success of programs of geographical mobility depends on dynamic interaction between large-scale social organizations and institutions, and individual people. Often, extensive changes in an individual's perceptions, knowledge, attitudes and skills - summarized in the term "human development" - are needed to enable him to respond effectively to either the pushes or pulls of a planned program of mobility.

Which goal must come first - increased production or human development of the disadvantaged - is a question that has been dealt with in a variety of ways in government policy. The first ARDA agreement with the provinces in 1962 placed the emphasis on physical resource development, on the grounds that the standard of living in submarginal areas would necessarily be improved by better use of natural resources. The community-pasture projects in Saskatchewan, in which displaced farmers were simply paid for their land without receiving any further assistance in relocation and human development, exemplify this thinking. However, the findings from a companion study to this report showed that achievement of the redevelopment goal was inimical to the interests of many of the original residents of the submarginal area (Abramson 1965b). Other studies challenge the assumption that mere migration to an urban area solves the economic problems of disadvantaged rural people. Among others, a 1965 study of two census tracts in downtown Saskatoon, where the average incomes are among the lowest in the city, revealed that approximately a quarter of these families were formerly farm operators (Abramson 1965a). Most of those who were still in the labour force were employed in poorly paid, unskilled labouring jobs.

Mobility programs must deal simultaneously with both the broad economic objectives and the needs of individuals affected by development programs. The realization of this fact finds expression in the second ARDA agreement with the provinces in 1965, which places greater emphasis on human development, and provides federal support for programs designed to effect a rapid and smooth transition of rural migrants into urban occupations.

Acceptance of the need for human development measures does not necessarily provide immediate and complete answers to questions like: What kinds of human development services are necessary? Who should receive them? Where should these services be located? How long should they be provided for any individual? The answers may best be provided by systematic observation of the experiences of migrants and by scientifically testing different types of programs.

Objectives of the Study

The present study, undertaken for ARDA, focuses on providing answers to the following questions:

1. What kinds of adjustment problems are encountered by former farm operators and their families when they settle in the city?
2. What are some of the experiences and circumstances that assist the farm family in adjusting to urban life?
3. Is it possible to detect separate phases in an adjustment process? If so, what kinds of human development services and support are needed during each phase?
4. What is a workable definition of the concept "adequate adjustment", and how can this be measured?
5. Without human development services, how many former farmers achieve good adjustments in an urban milieu, and how many make poor ones?

6. Can the type of adjustment be predicted on the basis of previous economic, educational, occupational, social and attitudinal factors?
7. What are the present economic and psycho-social characteristics of those who have achieved different levels of adjustment in the urban milieu?

Methods of the Study

The study was based on intensive personal interviews with 100 former farm operators who were living in Saskatoon. In order to be eligible for inclusion, respondents had to: (a) have owned or operated a farm for at least three years before their removal; (b) have left their farms within 10 years of the interview; and (c) have been below retirement age and still in the labour force at the time of removal. The group that was studied included only one segment of rural migrants. It did not include sons of farmers who migrated from the farm, farm labourers, or retired farmers.

One of the main problems in the collection of data was that of selecting a reasonably representative group, since there was no economical, efficient or fast way of sampling the total population with which the study was concerned. The approach depended on referrals from a variety of agencies and individuals who were points of contact for rural migrants presumed to have different levels of adjustment. Names of farmers were obtained from the following sources: farmers who had migrated from a rural development area in which the Centre for Community Studies had made a survey, major employers in the city, National Employment Service, Social Aid, the Wheat Pool, the Farmers' Union, the Saskatchewan Technical Institute, ministers of churches, and personal referrals by other respondents in the study. The variety of sources, it was hoped, would prevent undue bias toward good or poor adjustment patterns in the group that was studied. Still, no strong claims can be made for the representativeness of the sample.

The interviews, which were made during the spring of 1965, lasted an average of two hours. A telephone check, where possible, and a personal call where there was no telephone, established eligibility for an interview. Interviews were then made by appointment to provide for an adequate amount of time. In a majority of cases both husband and wife were present. Less than 10 per cent of those who were eligible refused to be interviewed.

The interview schedule (Appendix IV) included a combination of structured and open questions. All five interviewers had training in sociology and psychology. Two also had training as psychiatric nurses, two had been employed as professional social workers and one was a professional psychologist. One of the interviewers was Ukrainian-speaking and two of them had farm backgrounds. All were given additional training in interviewing techniques and on the objectives of the questions before working on the study, and were carefully supervised throughout their work.

The coding of answers to open questions was supervised by the study director. The coder's rating based on the total interview was subjected to a 100 per cent check for reliability of coding, and all differences were resolved. Agreement on ratings was found to run between 75 and 85 per cent.

Limitations of the Study

The applicability of the findings is limited by the following aspects of its design:

1. The Prairie farmer, engaged in grain farming or mixed grain and livestock farming, and separated from his nearest neighbours by considerable distances, can be expected to differ from farmers in other regions whose farm situations and social relations have been patterned differently.
2. Saskatoon is a fast-growing city, with a population of approximately 120,000 people. Situated in the centre of a large farm area, its traditional economic base has

been agricultural and a great proportion of the population has been farm-reared. Employment opportunities in the growing industries of construction, trade, and services correspond fairly well to the skills offered by farm migrants. Therefore, the economic pattern and the many ties with rural life make this city a favourable urban milieu for receiving migrants.

3. The respondents were all former farm operators. Their problems of adjustment to urban life may be expected to differ from those of farmers' sons, most of whom migrate to urban centres much earlier; from those of farm labourers, who had much less of a stake in remaining on the farm; and from those who have retired from their farms.
4. A larger and more representative sample would be necessary to draw firm conclusions about the distribution of adjustment patterns and characteristics of former farm operators, even in the specific locale where the study was performed.
5. Acceptance of adjustment classifications used must depend on the internal consistency of the data. An expanded sample would provide an opportunity for statistical refinement of these classifications.

CHAPTER II

FARM SITUATION BEFORE MIGRATION

The process of migration from farms to urban centres involves three main variables: the migrants, the farm situation, and the urban situation. Each affects the other. The farmer and his family are molded both physically and psychologically by their on-farm situation and their attempts to cope with it. At the same time, through the mass media and their direct and indirect experience with the city, they are exposed to the values and expectations of urban society. These urban values influence their perception of the farm situation and their behaviour within it. The economy of the farm and the conditions of life there are objectively affected by social processes originating in urban centres. And finally, the past experiences of the farm family, forming their perceptions, values, attitudes, techniques and expectations, go with them to the city and help to determine the urban experience. This interaction applies to all but the most geographically and socially isolated individuals.

The interaction between these three variables is a process in which the dynamics of movement are provided by the *relative* characteristics of the on-farm and off-farm situations, and by the way in which the opportunities offered by each fit the criteria and abilities of the farmer (Stouffer 1940). For example, even if the economic pressures of a submarginal farm are so severe as to create a strong motivation to seek a more favourable environment, a poorly educated farmer with no off-farm work experience, and with a family to support, may cling to his farm because it seems to offer more security than the kind of urban employment that is open to him (Abramson 1965). This tendency helps to explain why the better educated sons of more prosperous farmers tend to be more geographically mobile than the more poorly educated sons of low-income farmers (Janssen 1966). The previous farm situation must, therefore, be a starting point in any analysis of the adjustment problems of farm families who migrate to the city.

Interplay of Economic, Social and Personal Factors

Migration from a farm to an urban centre can be assumed to result from the interplay of pushes out of the farm situation and pulls toward the urban. It is not necessary for both to act on the individual. (Note 2) If the negative pushes in the farm situation are strong enough, the family will be forced to move in the hope of doing better elsewhere, even when they perceive no opportunities that seem to be an improvement. If the pull of definite opportunity in the city is attractive enough, the family will move even if the farm situation is on the whole favourable.

In analysing the forces resulting in mobility it is usually difficult to disentangle the economic from the social and psychological factors. As the following sections will show, the farms which the respondents had previously operated covered a wide economic range, from those which could not even meet the expenses of operation to some which returned above-average incomes even by urban standards. Undoubtedly, some of these former farmers had been pushed off their farms by economic pressures so severe that they had no alternative but to leave. The clearest examples were farmers whose leases expired and who had insufficient capital to purchase their land. Others had acquired so many debts that they could not get further credit to continue their operations, or they believed that they would lose their equities in the farms altogether if they continued. Some were unable to continue farming because of accidents, illness, fires, etc. But even these extreme cases seldom were the result of economic factors alone. Almost always some alternative existed which was eliminated because of personal or social preference.

None of these families decided to leave the farm because it failed to meet their minimum subsistence needs. Rather, 89 per cent of the respondents indicated that they left because the farm failed to meet their ideas of a satisfying or good life. The most frequently mentioned improvements which were sought in migrating had mixed economic, social and personal connotations. For example, 41 per cent desired a higher standard of living for their families - a concept related to personal and social values. Thirty-one per cent sought better educational opportunities for their children, usually out of a mixture of values concerned with social and economic status and physical well-being. Twenty-three per cent wanted less anxiety and strain, and greater predictability of the outcome of their efforts; 27 per cent wanted a situation in which they could make more consistent progress toward their goals. In all these there is an interplay of economic, social, and psychological values which must be taken into account in understanding the significance of economic factors in the farm situation.

Characteristics of the Farms

As has been shown, the great majority of these migrants from farms, regardless of their previous economic situation, had moved to urban centres because of discrepancies between the farm situation and their idea of an acceptable way of life. What were the characteristics of the farms they left, and what clues do these characteristics provide as to the nature of these discrepancies?

Location

All but two of the farms had been located in Saskatchewan. The others had been in Manitoba and Alberta. Thirty-

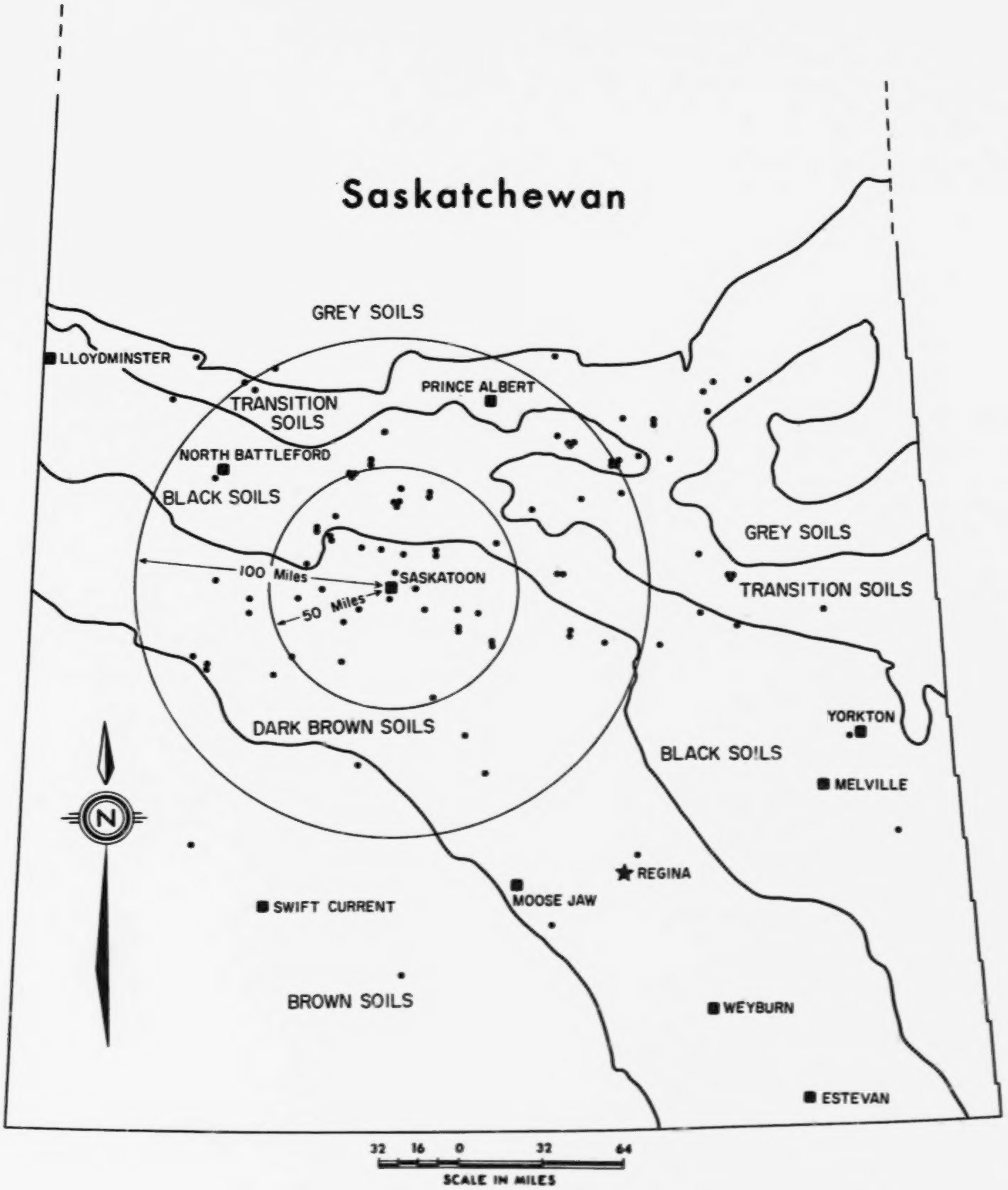

Saskatchewan
GREY SOILS
LLOYDMINSTER
TRANSITION SOILS
PRINCE ALBERT
NORTH BATTLEFORD
BLACK SOILS
GREY SOILS
100 Miles
SASKATOON
50 Miles
TRANSITION SOILS
DARK BROWN SOILS
YORKTON
BLACK SOILS
MELVILLE
N
REGINA
MOOSE JAW
SWIFT CURRENT
BROWN SOILS
WEYBURN
ESTEVAN
32 16 0 32 64
SCALE IN MILES

FIGURE 1
LOCATION OF THE RESPONDENTS' FORMER FARMS

four per cent were within 50 miles of Saskatoon; 32 per cent between 50 and 100 miles, and 34 per cent over 100 miles. As shown in Figure 1, the majority of them lay to the north of a diagonal which roughly separates the parkland from the prairie. A number of reasons may be suggested for this distribution.

1. The movement of people off the farm may be related to the history of agricultural development in the province. Agriculturally the parkland area was developed later than the southern portion of the province. Therefore, rural migrants during the most recent decade may more likely come from areas of later development than from the southern portions of the province where the push of migration occurred earlier.
2. The ethnic groups who settled in northern areas of the province tended to be later migrants than the Anglo-Saxons who settled the southern portions of the province.
3. Farmers from the parkland, where farm units tend to be smaller, may be represented more heavily among those who left during a period of accelerating cost-price squeeze.
4. Saskatoon may attract a higher proportion of migrants from the north and east because there is less competition there from opportunities in other cities, like Regina, Moose Jaw, and Swift Current, as well as cities in Alberta.
5. Transportation systems probably played an important part in determining the direction and distance of movement.

The majority of respondents indicated that they chose Saskatoon because it offered some continuity with their farm lives. They were familiar with the city from previous visits or work, school or trading relations, or they were following friends or relatives who had migrated to Saskatoon.

Distance from Services

The distances of these farms from services and from paved roads varied considerably. Table 1 shows 47 per cent of the farms 15 miles from a paved road, and 32 per cent 25 miles distant. Distances from medical services, secondary schools, and less frequently, churches, were often considered important disadvantages in the farm situation. Though modern cars have improved transportation in rural areas, low-income farmers are likely to have unreliable old cars and to lack money for gasoline. In the winter months, travel in rural areas may be difficult for all families. (Note 3)

TABLE 1 - PERCENTAGE OF FARMS AT VARIOUS DISTANCES FROM SERVICES

Distance from Respondent's Farm (miles)	Trade Centre %	Grain Delivery %	High School %	Church %	Doctor %	Paved Road %
0-4.9	30	37	33	41	10	26
5-0.9	32	39	32	32	16	14
10-14.9	13	15	18	12	22	13
15-19.9	12	5	7	4	24	7
20-24.9	6	3	6	6	13	8
25 & over	7	1	4	5	15	32
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	100	100	90	97	100	76
Mean distance	10.2	6.9	8.9	8.8	15.7	23.6

Tenure

In order to be included in the study, all respondents had to have operated a farm for at least three years. Most (69 per cent) owned all the land they worked, 20 per cent leased part of their land and a minority, 11 per cent, leased all of it. This is a higher degree of total ownership than is to be found among all farmers in the province, where in 1961, 38 per cent operated farms which included some leased land.

During a period when farmers have had to expand their units to compensate for the rise in costs of operation, arable land has become less available for purchase. This has contributed to migration from the farm. A majority of respondents were low-income farmers who probably could not afford to pay the high prices for the land that did become available, or could not obtain credit to do so. Ten per cent of the respondents said they left because they were unable to acquire the additional land needed to make the farm economically viable, and another six per cent left because leases had expired.

Size

By current Saskatchewan standards, most of their farms were much smaller than is now considered necessary for a viable operation. Fifty-three per cent worked a half-section (320 acres) or less. Only 10 per cent worked more than a section. The median size, 308 acres, was smaller than that of 505 acres in Census Division 16, where average incomes are among the lowest in Saskatchewan. The median size for the province was 557 acres.

Type

Half the farms were not only too small to be viable, but were also described by their former owners as having "poor" or "mostly poor" soils. Forty-five per cent were rated as having "mostly good" or "good" soils. These ratings may or may not be valid, depending on the respondent's expertise. Probably because of the parkland locations, the relatively small size and poor soil, mixed farming predominated. Though more than a quarter derived their farm income almost entirely from grain, income depended more often on a variety of products - small herds of cattle, a few litters of pigs, cream, and laying hens being the most common.

Off-Farm Employment

Thirty-four per cent of the group augmented their farm income by off-farm employment which brought in amounts varying from a few hundred dollars a year for summer construction, bush work, or odd jobs around town, to $10,000 a year from a farm machinery dealership and garage. Median earnings from off-farm employment were about $1,100 a year. Not infrequently the income from off-farm work exceeded the net income from farm products after the deduction of expenses, and sometimes it was reported as the only cash income. Some farmers worked off the farm to support their interest in and love of farming, which played the part of an expensive hobby in their lives. The greater proportion of those whose gross farm incomes were less than $2,000 a year had off-farm employment, but their wages tended to be much lower than the off-farm earnings of more prosperous farmers.

The role of off-farm work in mobility is difficult to assess. On the one hand, it may help to reinforce an unproductive farm, and thus indefinitely delay the decision to migrate. On the other hand, the need to augment farm income with earnings from other work was not infrequently a contributor to migration, both by making it more difficult to maintain the farm, and by introducing new criteria and lines of action into the farmer's situation.

Farm Income

The reporting of farm income is subject to lapses of memory and other types of errors. Moreover, these data are difficult to interpret because of the varying time periods to which they refer. Still, the data available from this study (Table 2) appear to indicate that many of this group of rural migrants had been submarginal farmers by current ARDA standards (Canada. Department of Forestry 1965).

Among those with gross incomes of less than $3,749, 93 per cent received less than $24,950 from the sale of farm, machinery, and livestock.

Though the median size of farms was far below that of the province as a whole, the reported income distribution was not too different. Asked about their average returns from farm

TABLE 2 - RESPONDENTS' GROSS INCOME FROM SALE OF FARM PRODUCTS

Income	Respondents
$	%
Under 2,000 a year	21
2,000 - 3,749	36
3,750 - 4,999	12
5,000 - 9,999	24
10,000 and over	7
Total	100
Number reporting	99

products during the last years they farmed, 57 per cent of the respondents reported gross sales of less than $3,750 a year, compared with 67 per cent in Census Division 16 and 51 per cent in Saskatchewan. Some adjustment must be made for the fact that the respondents left agriculture between 1955 and 1965, while the census data with which their incomes are compared date from the crop year of 1960, which was an average year. In a province where huge fluctuations have occurred from year to year the time difference must be noted (Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1926-1956, 1964).

The comparison raises some interesting questions which would need further data to settle. Is the unexpectedly high gross income an indication of underestimates by farm operators in current reports? Do former farmers tend to remember the good years and forget the bad ones? Or, did these men as a group tend to increase their labour inputs in order to wrest more income from relatively small farm units? Did they subject themselves to great physical strain and psychological stress which eventually contributed to migration? These questions point up the differences between migrants and non-migrants.

Estimates of net income on the farm are difficult to make and controversial in interpretation. Those who have an interest in demonstrating that the level of living on the farm is higher than is indicated by the cash income, generally point out that the farmer has access to sources of non-cash income which are not available to the city worker. Many of the respondents in this study certainly regretted the loss of farm products, like meat, milk, chickens, eggs, garden vegetables and firewood, for which they now must pay cash. However, these products are not "free" to the farmer, who must pay the costs of producing them in both money and labour. It is questionable how much they contributed to his family's standard of living, in view of other data. Although he does not pay rent or taxes comparable to those of city dwellers, his housing would often be condemned in the city, and he is supplied with far fewer public services. Keeping in mind that the median family size in this group was 4.9 at the time of leaving the farm, the distribution of estimated net cash income from both farm and non-farm sources, shown in Table 3, would seem to place the majority of these families in the poverty group by the standards of the larger society.

TABLE 3 - RESPONDENTS' NET INCOME FROM FARM AND NON-FARM SOURCES

Income	Respondents
$	%
Under 1,000	27
1,000 - 1,999	31
2,000 - 3,999	23
4,000 and over	19
Total	100
Number reporting	78

Mechanization

In comparing a selected number of machinery items, mechanization on the farms of the respondents compared well with the province as a whole (Table 4), though farms were considerably smaller. Several hypotheses are suggested by this, which would merit further research. Have rural migrants, for example, tended to include a disproportionately high number who responded to changes in agricultural practices without having a sufficient economic base, so that their progressive tendencies were actually detrimental? Are they a group whose aspirations have been more responsive to the values of the larger society, making them more dissatisfied with the returns from the farm? If they had adopted urban values to a greater extent, did this place them under additional strain in their efforts to achieve those levels of living by investing more labour in inadequate farm units?

TABLE 4 - COMPARISON OF MECHANIZATION OF RESPONDENTS' FARMS WITH THAT OF COMMERCIAL FARMS IN SASKATCHEWAN - 1961

Machine	Respondents' Farms	Saskatchewan Commercial Farms
	%	%
Motor truck	76	79
Grain combine	67	71
Owned	50	*
Shared	17	*
Passenger car	79	67
Number reporting	100	82,285

*Information not available.

The respondents' discussions of present-day farm problems centre around the issue of mechanization to an extent which makes it of central concern in the analysis of their former farm situations. In their farm lives the machine had extremely conflicting associations as benefits and burdens. Though farm machinery had enabled them to achieve much greater production, the capital investments and costs of upkeep and repairs had pushed many of these smaller farmers below the break even point. Though it had liberated them from much of the physical labour and long hours of farming, it had made them dependent on other businesses and services. Though the operation and control of large machines gave them a sense of power, this was countered by feelings of inadequacy and anxiety related to a lack of mechanical skills and a total dependence on the machines at the most critical periods of the crop year.

A number of respondents commented on the social pressures to buy new and improved machinery as a symbol of progressiveness and as a means of "keeping up with the Joneses". Two of the respondents expressed their feelings as follows:

> "The hardest thing about the farm is the machines. It's hard for me to catch on. I had to learn first. If you were a kid, and had training, then you could operate and fix the machines. I didn't have training, so I couldn't understand how to fix machinery. I had difficulty in learning how a machine runs, learning the inside and knowing the whole process."

> "The hardest thing about farming is the need for such large amounts of capital. Small farmers are faced with the pressure being put on them by large farmers and can't keep up with the trend. They have to be able to keep abreast of technological advancement for the next 10 to 12 years. It's becoming more of a business and less of a way of life. You have to take the hard-headed businessman's view of it. In the forties we saw technology as progressive, but didn't see it as a compounding, snowballing thing. Personally, I felt behind the eight-ball. It's frustrating when you *know* how to do better and haven't the wherewithal to do it."

Level of Living on the Farm

Characteristically, rural standards of living have been lower than urban (Taylor 1933). Judging by the characteristics of their housing on the farm, many of the respondents in this study had lived in circumstances of material deprivation compared with the norm of the larger society. There appeared to be no relation between family size and number of rooms in the farm house. Up to family sizes of eight, the median number of rooms was between four and five, regardless of the number in the family. Approximately a fifth lived in houses without an adequate number of bedrooms. Ten examples were found of families with five or more members who had lived in houses with three rooms or less.

On the other hand, this group was not too far from the norms of their own reference groups in home improvements. Respondents were asked whether their farm homes contained various amenities which are indicators of the level of living. In Table 5, the proportion reporting each kind of home improvement is compared with findings from a sample survey of two selected areas in Census Division 16, made by the Centre for Community Studies (Leuthold 1964).

TABLE 5 - COMPARISON OF FARM HOME AMENITIES OF TWO GROUPS OF FARMERS

Amenities	Former Farmers	Census Division 16 Farmers	
		Area A	Area B
	%	%	%
Radio	99	*	*
Telephone	68	16	93
Electric power	59	82	89
Basement	54	*	*
Central heating	33	19	47
Television	32	52	84
Running water	24	17	34
Flush toilet	10	7	21
Number reporting	100	136	112

*Not included in survey

Although by urban standards these housing conditions might be considered appalling, the respondents' farm homes do not appear to have been far from the norms for rural Saskatchewan in many ways. (The proportion having electric power, a key amenity, was low, perhaps reflecting the remoteness of their farms, or an earlier period in rural electrification.) Area B represents a prosperous farm community in Census Division 16, while Area A represents a low-income area. For the six amenities included in both studies, the average number reported by the former farmers is 2.3, that reported in the low-income area was 1.4, and that in the prosperous area was 3.3. Thus as a group the former farmers seem to have had a level of living midway between the standards for prosperous and poor rural areas.

The over-all picture suggested by the preceding sections is one of inadequate farm units, attempts to conform to norms of modern agricultural practices, better than expected returns (perhaps because of greater labour investments) and frustration in attempts to achieve goals. There are also suggestions of consumption values and patterns of behaviour which could not be satisfied within the farm situation. The following two statements by respondents sum up the conflict between consumption goals and production.

> "Our income was poor in comparison to our neighbours in the country. It was not a community where you felt you could get by with an old combine. There was a lot of "keeping up with the Joneses". I needed to get a job in town and farm from there, get more land, or try a different occupation. Net income - about $2,500. In 1956 we took 300 roosters and more cattle in an attempt to diversify. The roosters developed tumors and I lost the cattle in a dugout and with disease. I also tried to rent that extra land, but we lost on that. We fought to the bitter end."

> "Basically I couldn't make the living I felt I should on the farm, and no possibilities of advancement. The standard of living wasn't high enough. Educational opportunities for children were poor on the farm, but I had not enough education to go anywhere else, no trade. I was afraid to leave because of family ties, afraid to hurt my parents' feelings. And when you first marry, things look good."

Farm Ecology

While the farm situation often fails to satisfy the farm family's criteria for the material aspects of the good life, it is not without some unique sources of psychic satisfaction, which tend to prevent migration. Moreover, nostalgia for the sources of satisfaction provided by farm life, but missing in the urban, often interferes with adjustment to the urban environment.

The former farmers were asked to discuss their feelings about the farmer's life, including their attitudes toward the land, the advantages and disadvantages of farm life, the hardest things about present-day farming, the things that held them to the farm and the things they liked about it. Answers revealed that the farmer and his family are tightly tied into the bio-social farm ecology, which also includes the other residents of the neighbourhood, the plant and animal life, the land and the climatic conditions. Within this ecology the farm family feels that it performs creative functions closely related to the primary sources of life, and at the same time derives a sense of security from its dependence on and support from the other parts of the ecology.

Family Roles

The roles of the members of the family are traditionally defined and are complementary. There is little distinction between occupational roles and family roles. Thus the main form of interaction between father and son, or mother and daughter, is related to the teaching and sharing of work roles. At the same time, while the children are young, the isolation of the farm reduces outside interference with the influence of the parents, eliminates many of the possibilities of friction with other children and their parents, and in the view of respondents provides a "safe" milieu where children can be "free" and keep themselves amused.

While the children are young, this situation appears to limit the parental role to clearly defined duties and contributes to secure and relaxed parent-child relationships. At a relatively early age, both boys and girls are given a share in economic functions that enhance the family's well-being. The farm family is a cohesive and interdependent social unit, the preservation of which becomes one of the primary values of farm people. The migration of sons and daughters because of the economic inadequacy of the farm unit is, therefore, frequently a stimulus to the migration of the parents, who move to be near the children.

Farm Family's Relation to Animals, Crops and Land

Most of the former farmers had been in mixed farming, and had kept small numbers of animals. Many respondents reported that they and their wives had reared and cared for their animals with a sense of responsibility, affection, and identification of interests as if they were part of the family group. Assisting in the birth of livestock and providing for their growth and well-being brought a sense of creativity to the farmer and added to his feeling of masculine adequacy in meeting his responsibilities. The farm wife derived much satisfaction and sociability from the chickens, which were usually her main responsibility. Lacking opportunities for playing with other children, farm children made certain farm animals their playmates. Several respondents said that wives and children missed animals more than the people who were left behind when they moved.

Some of these farmers also see the farmer as the prime mover in the life cycle of crops and in the care of the land. Without his efforts, they felt the crops would not grow and animals could not survive the rigorous climate. Without his care and management the land would revert within a few years to its unimproved condition. In thus describing their role in the bio-social ecology of the farm, they were echoing a somewhat romantic view, current not many years ago, before the advent of agro-businesses. (Note 4)

Farmer's Sense of Independence

The respondents reported their experience of independence and freedom of choice on the farm. The independence of the farmer as one of the advantages of farm life was repeatedly stressed even though they would picture a life of unending drudgery and virtual slavery to the routine of the farm chores and care of livestock. Though they would say they could take a day off whenever they liked or work as many hours as they liked, it often turned out they had not left the farm for a day's recreation in years, and that they worked hours which would seem excessive to urban workers. The grain farmer, of course, has more freedom at certain times of the year than the mixed farmer. One respondent said:

> "I still maintain that farming is one of the most carefree lives. You haven't the strain during operations. It's not competitive. You do it. If it rains, you're all right. It depends on nature. If the crops are not good, there's nothing you can do. If you have done your summerfallow and seeded to the best of your ability, it's out of your hands from there on out."

Another respondent recalled the fascination of farming with nostalgia, as follows:

> "I loved the farmer's life. It is a terrific challenge, a gratifying and rewarding way of life. It is difficult to equal in an office job unless you go very high. You work with nature; can become as scientific as your education and ability permit. There is a wide scope and no limit to how far you can go. You pit skill and knowledge against the elements of nature. The ability to work with nature is the deciding factor between a good farmer and a poor one. It's an occupation and a hobby all tied up. It eliminates the monotony of repetition. It's poorly paid for the effort and skill expended, except for the few with capital and superior managerial ability."

Repeatedly, these respondents indicated that farm life for them contained romantic elements of drama and self-realization in contrast to the drab and unexciting life of the city. In pitting themselves against high risk and uncontrollable natural forces, a number of these small farmers seemed to picture themselves as acting out a primitive and eternal theme. Because of their own weaknesses, much of the drama of their lives seemed to be contained in the conquering of themselves as an essential part of the battle against natural forces. (Note 5)

Time on the Farm

Tied to the daily, seasonal and yearly life cycle, the farmer experiences time in a different way from that of the urban dweller. His time is organized by the nature of the situation, rather than by the clock. Subjectively, time tends to have a circular, repetitive quality rather than a progressive on-flowing one. This difference in the nature of subjective time on the farm and in the city, as will be shown later, introduces special problems related both to mobility and adjustment.

Identification of Self with Farm

Although the farmer thinks that he is the prime mover and caretaker of the farm, it is not a one-way dependency. The farm family's level of living is tied to the size and condition of the annual crop, and its achievement is directly measured by farm production. Because each aspect of his farm is so closely related to his basic needs, the farmer appears to merge the farm into his own identity.

When the former farmers were asked to describe the kind of men they were, their self-images had little content apart from their roles as farmers and their relation to farms. In 10 or 20 years of farming, the farmer becomes almost as much a creation of his farm as the farm is the creation of the farmer.

Therefore, his separation from the farm signifies a separation from the most essential part of his identity. In this the farmer probably differs from most city wage earners, whose work is largely outside their essential and private lives.

Social Milieu

The relative geographic isolation of the farms on which the respondents had lived did not usually mean that they had been socially isolated. On the contrary, farm life was pictured as one of lively social intercourse, frequent and informal exchanges of visits with neighbours and relatives, generous sharing of work, and community assistance for individuals in times of crisis. Three-quarters of them had lived near relatives with whom they had visited and exchanged help of various kinds. Nearly all of them had neighbours whom they saw "a fair amount" and with whom they shared work. (Note 6)

Generally in the farm neighbourhoods all individuals were socially equal and economic status was not an important factor in a man's acceptance by others. Everyone knew everyone else for miles around and everyone felt welcome everywhere. Visits were on a drop-in basis and participation in organized social events was community-wide. Moreover, homogeneity of occupation, interests and experience provided a basis for shared understanding and communication. A common element of the farmer's self-image was his ability to get along with everyone. The following are typical statements concerning the nature of rural social life.

> "We were kind of isolated and it meant we had more community life. We were the poorest district, but it had a good spirit."
>
> "People (on the farm) were much friendlier. You didn't have to be invited. You were more than welcome. Here (in the city) you have to wait to be invited."

The few who reported suffering from a lack of friendliness and co-operative spirit in their rural experience had lived in communities composed largely of a single ethnic group to which they had not belonged. Respondents contrasted country social traditions with those in the city, where contacts with friends and neighbours seemed to them more superficial or non-essential. Table 6 shows that in the farm community the great majority of respondents had participated in regular, voluntary group work which could not be provided adequately by single individuals. In addition, neighbours and relatives extended help to each other on a personal basis which provided a kind of social insurance for the individual in times of temporary crisis. (Note 7)

TABLE 6 - KINDS OF HELP GIVEN OR RECEIVED FROM NEIGHBOURS AND RELATIVES

Kinds of Help	Respondents %
Co-operative economic activities	
Co-operative work parties: cutting feed, harvesting, wood cutting and sawing, butchering, summer-fallowing, etc.	83
Working for each other in relief, emergencies, help for sick, injured, etc.	47
Sharing machinery on a regular basis	17
Working together on community improvement projects: building or repairs for schools, churches, snow plowing, gravelling, etc.	14
Exchange of specialized services: haircutting, castrating livestock, machinery repair, etc.	9
Personal assistance	
Lending machinery when needed	27
Financial loans	16
Helping in family matters: baby sitting, nursing, etc.	10
Women's work: sewing, gardening, etc.	3
Transportation	2
Advice	2
Helping with parties, etc.	4
Number reporting	88

In addition to the kinds of co-operative economic activities shown in Table 6, respondents participated less frequently in various kinds of community activities having a service or recreational function. The frequencies with which these were reported are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7 - PARTICIPATION IN FARM COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

Activity	Respondents %
Community socials, picnics, dances, etc.	61
Informal social visits, cards, etc.	42
Sports	41
Cultural activities, music, films, etc.	23
Church affairs	22
School picnics or socials	20
Agricultural shows or events	9
School organizations or administration	6
Service organizations	1
Political activities	1
Co-op farm meetings	1
Participated in none	8
Number reporting	88

Unfortunately, social life in many rural communities has undergone drastic changes during the last 20 or 30 years. Many respondents indicated that the picture of a closely knit rural community, with a highly co-operative spirit and an intense amount of friendly social interaction, was no longer an accurate description of their neighbourhoods when they left. This change is described in the two quotations from interviews that follow.

> "There used to be more activities than there are now; whist drives, card parties, dances; two or three school picnics. Used to sit around on nail kegs in the store on Saturday night. But they don't do that now. Today they haven't got time. They work longer hours now, never stop

> working. It's all gone. All the schools are gone, they take the kids to town. Today people will drive 50 to 100 miles to a lake or something. The trend of the stores is to move to the bigger places now and people buy in the bigger centres."
>
> "They used to visit and help. Of course people are farther apart now, people sell out, the farms get bigger. They all think they are doing pretty good now, so don't need help from anyone. In bad times they are all together, but in good times they are all individuals." (Note 8)

Though many of the respondents waxed nostalgic about the friendlier, more egalitarian spirit of the rural neighbourhood, a dissenting minority stressed the unfavourable effects of social disintegration, particularly on children. Some moved into the city because their child was the only one in its age group for miles. Others, who lived in areas where local school units had closed and where no school transportation was available, were unwilling to send their children to board in town. One respondent presented the following picture.

> "The family is more consolidated in the city. Your children go to a school and a church in the community, and they have a group of friends and you know their fathers and mothers and who they're out with. Everything is disintegrating in the country now. The larger school unit is so large you don't have any idea who the kids are out with. There is drinking at country dances, etc. Kids don't come home on the school bus - your daughter comes home in a car with some young gaffer. The school bus takes two hours to get some little kids to school and two more hours to get them home at night - far too much for a small child. The city is a better place to raise kids today than the country."

Social and Economic Changes

Approximately a third of the respondents left their farms partly because of the increasing cost-price squeeze and their inability to shift to an agro-business operation, which would have enabled them to survive economically. They lacked the capital, management skills and connections with market facilities.

About a quarter of the respondents reported that their decision to leave the farm was due to incapacitating illness or accidents. One factor in their decision to migrate, about a quarter said, was the desire to free themselves from intolerable worry. (Note 9)

CHAPTER III

MIGRANT FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS

Because the three main variables involved in the processes of migration and adjustment - farm family, farm situation, and urban situation - interact, it is difficult to discuss them separately. In exploring the nature of the farm situation, its objective characteristics depend upon the extent to which the rewards of farm life fit the farm family's goals, and on the relative opportunities offered by the farm and by other environments. Similarly, the characteristics of the farm family must be evaluated in relation to both the farm situation and the new urban milieu. The same objective characteristics may have an entirely different meaning for mobility than it has for adjustment. For example, the moderately successful farmer by the standards of his rural community may be the one with enough resources to move to the city if his health fails, or if he seeks better educational opportunities for his children. However, the very factor of his relative success with his farm may be non-adjustive in an urban milieu, where only the lowest status jobs are open to him and he has no established position in the community.

A second point to keep in mind during the following sections is the distinction between the characteristics of the migrant respondents *as a group* relative to Saskatchewan farmers as a whole, or to the Saskatoon labour force, and the wide *individual* differences to be found among them in nearly every characteristic. (Note 10)

Birthplace

Nearly 75 per cent of the respondents had been born on a Saskatchewan farm. Among the minority who had been born elsewhere, 16 per cent came from Europe, mostly Eastern European countries, 7 per cent came from other parts of Canada, and 3 per cent were born in the United States.

Farm Backgrounds

For the most part the respondents had grown up in the same areas as those in which their former farms had been located, though many had left home farms to make new starts for themselves. The great majority - 94 per cent - were the sons of farmers and had learned their occupation from their fathers as they grew up. Most of them liked farming and felt that under the right circumstances (not achievable for them) there was no life which would better satisfy their own interests and work preferences. The majority were also persuaded that the farm environment was the most desirable one for rearing children and enjoying family life.

Having a real commitment to farming as a vocation and a way of life, most of the respondents had struggled for years to keep their farms and make them successful operations. Seventy-three per cent of the group had operated a farm for over 10 years, 22 per cent for 5 to 10 years, and 7 per cent for 3 to 5 years. Thus the decision to leave the farm had a different significance from the transfer of an urban wage earner from one job to another, even when the latter involves a change of location. A closer analogy would be a move from one culture to another combined with a shift from one vocation to another.

Previous Mobility

For a third of the group who had never before been away from the farm for more than a day or so at a time, migration to an urban centre was probably an enormous step. Interviews with the respondents in this study and with the families displaced when their farms were bought up to form large pastures, revealed that they perceived themselves as farm people who did not belong and were not well accepted in the city. (Abramson 1965b)

Even a day of shopping in the city had involved unusual strain and fatigue for farm families from isolated areas, and they had felt a sense of relaxation and belonging when they returned to the quiet and familiar farm setting.

Another 25 per cent of the group had been away from the farm for short periods during the summer or winter, usually to work at off-farm jobs. Experience of this kind helped to prepare the way for migration and to ensure a better adjustment to urban life.

The largest group, 43 per cent, had been away from the farm for minimum periods of a year. This group included a few who had been at school and a fair number who had served in the armed forces. But the longer periods of absence, followed by a resumption of farming, did not always foreshadow a successful adjustment to another migration.

Migration Age

At the time the respondents left farming, they were much older as a group than the male labour force in Saskatoon.

TABLE 8 - COMPARISON OF MIGRANTS' AGES AT TIME OF MOVING WITH SASKATOON MALES IN LABOUR FORCE

Age	Migrating Respondents %	Saskatoon Males %
20 - 24	1	15
25 - 34	21	31
35 - 44	29	24
45 - 54	36	17
55 - 64	13	13
Total	100	100

About half of the respondents were 45 years of age or older at the time of migration. This was a handicap in seeking employment, and many, because of large families including children of pre-school or school ages, would have been in no position to retire.

An interview with National Employment Service administrators in Saskatoon indicated that employers were reluctant to accept men over 45, who cost them more because of superannuation plans. In spite of this, the experience of the NES indicated that men over 45, who were not handicapped in other ways, would eventually find their way into new jobs, but it took longer than for young men. Meanwhile, they had to endure temporary, poorly-paid work and repeated periods of unemployment.

Health

Though no direct questions were asked in the study about health, spontaneous comments suggested that this was an important oversight. Nearly a quarter of them reported that poor health or crippling accidents had been a major reason for their moving from the farm. Arthritic conditions, flu, backs weakened by the hard labour of clearing rocks, accidents with farm machinery, and ulcers were among the health problems mentioned. In addition, nine per cent said that advancing age, accompanied by a generally weakened physical capacity for the work of the farm, had made it impossible for them to continue (Canadian Welfare Council 1965b, 1966).

Mental health factors were also raised by these farmers. Some indicated that they had been pushed into conditions of psychological exhaustion by the long-sustained uncertainties of their economic situation, the lack of appropriate returns for their efforts, their inability to provide suitable living conditions and opportunities for their families (and sometimes proper conditions for their cherished animals) and by repeated frustration in their efforts to solve the problems of their farm situations. Nearly a third said they left the farm to find a life which would be more secure and freer from worry. (Note 11)

The isolation of farm life also was reported to increase the psychological stresses. Working alone, the farmer had no one to share his decisions or distract his attention from his worries. (Note 12)

The interviews suggest that these former farmers have become work addicted. Low-income farms, particularly in the parkland, are most often mixed farm operations in which the care of livestock and the use of machinery in poor repair greatly add to the work load. There were many indications in these interviews that long hours of work, perhaps even unnecessary or unrewarding work, were invested in the farm as a means of handling the farmer's anxieties. In this way, he could be caught in a defeating cycle of work, physical exhaustion, worry, ill health, and accidents, each one contributing to the others. The following quotations give some of the flavour of these experiences.

> "You have to work all the time, milking cows, feeding pigs, chores, everything else. And at the end of the year you have nothing."

> "Well, crops were never too good. We kept hoping for a good year, maybe to get the boys interested. As we couldn't give them a start our sons gradually came into town. So we couldn't keep the farm anymore."

> "I do better working with other people rather than alone. I like the company. Out there on the farm there was too much time to think and worry."

> "I was never making enough to get ahead. The farm was too small, but I couldn't get more land. My boy wouldn't stay on the farm. I thought about my problems over the winter. There was nothing to do then but sit and think."

> "We always used to think things would be better, but they weren't. Taxes were mounting up and we could see if we stayed on the farm we would in time lose to taxes. And my husband was sick with 'flu and ulcers."

> "In farming you are always worrying about what would happen next, always thinking and planning. Here I take my lunch box and go to work. No worrying."

> "A farmer that hasn't enough land or good soil can't keep going. The expenses of machinery are too high. It's hard

> work. To be successful you have to be at it all the time. There are no holidays with pay. If you are in mixed farming, the cattle hold you down in winter. This isn't freedom, this is prison. There are no people to talk to, no one to seek advice from. You become dull. Some stay on the farm just because the father had it."
>
> "Farming is always a gamble - no sure way to do it, seed early or late - early rains or early frosts. You can't tell."

Without adequate referral systems or facilities for treatment in rural areas, farmers are likely to suffer more serious breakdowns before their condition comes to the attention of a psychiatrist. Background interviews with two psychiatrists who practise in Saskatoon indicated that farm people are generally much more seriously ill when they are first referred for treatment than urban patients are.

The urban environment poses new problems and often more immediate threats to security than the farm situation. In fact, the Saskatoon psychiatrists stated that migration, with its accompanying stresses, appeared to precipitate breakdowns of some former farmers and their wives.

Family Composition

At the time of the move, most of the men were supporting families which included fairly young children. The average family size was 4.5, somewhat higher than the average Saskatoon family of 3.6. Only 12 per cent were families of two or were single persons, while 44 per cent had five or more members. When they migrated these men had to anticipate a considerable number of years before their children would be independent. Forty-five per cent had children of pre-school age, 54 per cent had children in elementary school, and 33 per cent had children attending high school. Their need for steady employment with salaries adequate for their families was, therefore, pressing.

Retention of Farm Ownership

For a number of the respondents there was no sharp dividing line between the time when they were farmers and the time when they migrated to urban occupations. Many of them went through transitional periods when they tried to straddle the two worlds. When they gave up residence on their farms, 62 per cent had sold their farm units entirely; another 5 per cent had sold part of their land, but kept part for their possible future use; 22 per cent were share-renting; 4 per cent were cash-renting; and one farmer simply left his unit vacant.

The necessity for disposing of their farms before they could migrate quite often involved considerable delays in moving, sometimes of two or more years after they decided to leave. For some there is evidence to suggest that a gradual transition reduced the stress of migration. On the other hand, for others the delay meant that the family was subjected to extended periods of severe economic and psychological pressures, sometimes involving the separation of family members, which may have reduced their ability to adjust to a new milieu.

The amount of cash the respondents obtained from the sale of their farms varied. Consequently the size of their financial cushion after moving to the city also varied. Respondents were asked how much they sold their machinery for, how much they sold their farm for, how much they received for their livestock, and how much they had by the time they settled any debts, taxes and the cost of moving. Table 9 shows the answers to the last question from the 73 respondents who replied.

Some may have had more assets than are indicated above, since no questions were asked about bank accounts, investments, or other assets. The position of the 42 per cent who had less than $5,000 was considerably different from those with more assets. The majority of farm migrants were faced with periods of unemployment after moving into the city and had to find housing for relatively large families. Unless they had

TABLE 9 - RESPONDENTS' CASH BALANCE FROM SALE OF FARM

Balance $	Respondents %
Nothing	7
Under 3,000	20
3,000 - 4,999	15
5,000 - 9,999	23
10,000 -19,999	21
20,000 and over	14
Total	100
Number reporting	73

enough cash for a down payment on a house, and had money to carry them through intermittent periods of unemployment and poorly-paid work, the family experienced a period of extreme financial strain.

Education

The formal education of the group was rather limited in comparison with the urban residents in the city to which they moved. As a group the average was also low compared with all Saskatchewan farm operators in 1961, but to a much smaller extent (Table 10).

TABLE 10 - EDUCATION OF RESPONDENTS COMPARED WITH SASKATOON MALES AGED 20-65

Education	Respondents %	Saskatoon Males %
Grade school or less	62	36
High school: some or completed	31	55
University: some or completed	7	9
Total	100	100

The educational levels of the wives were similar. For the respondents, the years of education completed averaged 7.6, while that completed by their wives was 7.8. These data have significance for both economic and social adjustments of migrants. Fewer jobs are available to those with educational attainments below the norm, and social barriers are also greater.

Although the group difference between Saskatoon males and the respondents is striking, distinctions among these rural migrants should also be noted. The educational handicap of the 30 per cent who had less than grade-eight education is more limiting than that of the 32 per cent who had completed grade school. Those who finished the sixth grade could qualify for upgrading courses and, in this way, proceed to a vocational training course in a technical institute. However, this would require more steps and more time than would be necessary for those who had completed some high school. The possibilities for advancement in the urban occupational structure are, of course, entirely different for the small minorities of three per cent who had completed high school and seven per cent with specialized or advanced training.

Occupational Experience

Before leaving their farms for good, two out of three respondents had held full-time jobs of various sorts outside agriculture. A minority of 27 per cent had never worked at anything but farming and another seven per cent had held occasional part-time jobs. Though direct comparisons with census data are not possible, this cumulative percentage seems high enough to suggest a group that was active in seeking alternative opportunities. Again, the relative position of 34 per cent who had no full-time work experience outside farming differed greatly from that of more experienced migrants. Farmers who had never worked full-time were generally less confident of their ability to support their families in the city, had low expectations of earning power and lacked the techniques of job hunting. They also lacked qualifications for urban jobs from the standpoint of the employer.

Respondents related how little encouragement or attention they received when they applied for jobs at the National Employment Service, and one said he had been advised to return to the farm because of his lack of qualifications. With these people the lack of perceived opportunities away from the farm, the lack of confidence about earning power, and the unstructured nature of the world outside the farm often delayed the decision to leave until the farmer's difficulties were compounded by age and ill-health.

Those who had worked at full-time, non-farm jobs had a number of advantages:

1. They had more qualifications to offer in the labour market.
2. They were more familiar with the techniques of job hunting and had more employment contacts in urban areas.
3. Their off-farm experiences tended to produce changes in their values, attitudes and expectations, which facilitated mobility and adjustment.
4. Their transition from farm to city was made more gradual, with fewer anxieties and tensions.

Still, it would be a mistake to assume that this group had easy prospects ahead when they moved. Much of their off-farm work experience (Table 11) was not of a kind which would lead to urban jobs offering stability of employment, adequate earnings for families of above-average size, or opportunities for social and economic upward mobility.

TABLE 11 - WORK DONE BY RESPONDENTS BEFORE LEAVING THE FARM

Type of Work	Respondents* %
Unskilled labour	33
Driving a truck or bus, or operating a machine	12
Mechanical work	12
Construction	10
Other skilled labour	8
Sales or business	7
White collar or professional	4
Other primary occupation: trapping, fishing, bushwork, etc.	2
Armed forces	28
None outside agriculture	28
Number reporting	100

*More than one occupation possible.

Membership in Formal Social Organizations

The extent to which migrating farmers had participated in organized social groups before moving to the city was some indication of their integration into a social network extending beyond their own isolated farms. Presumably, participation would develop and social skills and expectations transferable to the more complex urban social setting. Membership in groups like church, agricultural society, fraternal organization, etc., might also provide referrals and contacts in the city which are useful in economic and social integration.

Respondents were asked: "When you were farming, were you a member of a church, 4-H club, agricultural society, council or school board, curling club, snowplow club, fraternal or service organization, any other organization?" The answers indicated that relatively few of the respondents - only four per cent - had lacked any affiliation. Another 11 per cent had belonged to only one organization, usually a church or snowplow club. The majority of 61 per cent had belonged to between two and four organizations, while a minority of 23 per cent had belonged to between five and eight organizations (Table 12).

TABLE 12 - RESPONDENTS' PRE-MIGRATION MEMBERSHIPS IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS COMPARED WITH FARMERS IN TWO CENSUS DIVISION 16 AREAS AND U.S. RURAL FARM RESIDENTS

Memberships	Respondents %	Census Division 16*		U.S. Rural Farm Residents** %
		Area A %	Area B %	
None	4	2	2	70
One	12	19	12	21
Two to four	61	72	71	9
Five to eight	23	7	15	--
Total	100	100	100	100

* Leuthold 1964.
**Wright and Hyman 1958.

Part of the difference between respondents in this study and in Saskatchewan farm areas A and B (Census Division 16), may have been due to the wording of the question. A further check on this would be desirable. However, levels of participation among the respondents suggest that as a group they were socially active before migration, had a normal number of channels of communication and had been integrated into the community - at least at one time. This finding would tend to belie the theory that migrants represent a group that has become alienated from their social environment (Odegaard 1932). Once more it is worth pointing to the range and diversity of characteristics among these migrants and the implication this carries for human development needs.

In view of the generally high participation of the group in community organizations, it is not surprising to note that a large percentage had been members of a church before migration (Table 13).

TABLE 13 - CHURCH AFFILIATION BEFORE MIGRATION

Church Affiliation	Respondents %
Major Protestant denomination	35
Mennonite	17
Fundamentalist Protestant sect	17
Roman Catholic	10
Other Catholic	4
None	17
Total	100

Pre-migration experience in dealing with the more impersonal and formal service organizations is also presumably helpful in providing migrants with some knowledge of the social means available for solving various kinds of problems. Respondents in the study were asked if they had had any pre-migration "advice or help from the agricultural representative on farming"; "any business dealings with a bank or credit agency"; had been "a member of a co-op"; had ever found it "necessary in hard times to go to Social Welfare, the DVA or the PFRA for help"; or had ever gone "to medical doctors, a hospital or a dentist for treatment".

Answers indicated that 66 per cent had had no professional contact with an agricultural representative, a proportion which is strikingly high compared with farmers who were studied in areas A and B of Census Division 16. In these areas only about a third had had no contact with the agricultural representative. The difference may be due to differences in wording the question, since respondents were similar to the farmers of Area A in their co-op membership, although they were low compared with those in Area B. Except for extreme need during the thirties, none had received aid from Social Welfare. All but a few individuals had dealt with a bank or credit agency, and had received medical treatment. The over-all picture of these Saskatchewan migrants from rural areas was, therefore, not one of unusual social isolation or lack of involvement in formal social organizations.

Clustering of Disadvantages

The data indicated that if a man has one disadvantage he usually has others. For example, older men tend to have less education, and those with less education are less likely to have worked full time at other occupations. Tables 14 to 16 show the relationships, for the respondents, between age at removal, education, and previous job experience. (Note 13)

TABLE 14 - RESPONDENT'S AGE AT REMOVAL RELATED TO PRE-MIGRATION NON-FARM JOB EXPERIENCE

Pre-Migration Job Experience	Age of Respondents		
	Under 40 %	40-49.9 %	50+ %
None and part time	27	22	57
Full time	73	78	43
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	33	36	30

TABLE 15 - AGE AT REMOVAL RELATED TO RESPONDENT'S EDUCATION

Education	Age of Respondents		
	Under 40 %	40-49.9 %	50+ %
Less than grade 8	3	31	60
Grades 8 - 11	76	66	33
Grade 12 and over	21	3	7
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	33	36	30

TABLE 16 - EDUCATION RELATED TO RESPONDENT'S PRE-MIGRATION NON-FARM JOB EXPERIENCE

Pre-Migration Job Experience	Education of Respondents		
	Less than Grade 8 %	Grades 8-11 %	Grade 12+ %
None and part time	63	23	10
Full time	37	77	90
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	30	60	10

CHAPTER IV

DECISION PROCESS IN MIGRATION

On the whole, the respondents, through their contacts with earlier migrants and through their own experiences, had fairly realistic expectations concerning the outcome of the move. Most knew, for example, that handicaps of age, low education, lack of skills, and lack of urban values were likely to prevent them from achieving any significant occupational mobility after migration. At the same time, a considerable number felt that their farm situations would become increasingly untenable. The fewer the resources of the family, either in terms of money, skills or social contacts, the greater were the pressures to leave the farm and the more hazardous the undertaking of leaving. (Note 14)

It is easy to understand why migration data indicate much lower rates for farm residents and why a United States study reported that many more in redevelopment areas plan to leave than actually do (U.S. Department of Commerce 1964b). The decision process is a difficult one for many of these families, characterized by intense conflict between two negative alternatives, by many unknown elements in the equation and often by years of fluctuating resolutions to stay or to go. (Note 15)

The data from the present study bearing on the decision process were derived from a series of discussion questions during which the interviewers were instructed to probe freely. Respondents were asked how they felt about the farmer's life; how the father and other relatives felt when they gave up farming; whether it caused any difficulties for other family members; how long they had been thinking about the change before they actually gave up farming; whether they had made any transitional moves; whether they had attempted to get other jobs, asked advice or explored other areas; what their dissatisfactions were; why it had taken as long as it had to make up their minds; what were all their reasons for leaving; what were the things that held them to the farm; what they liked about the farm; how their wives felt about the move; how the children (if any) felt; and what finally made up their minds to move.

The analysis of the decision process which follows is consequently based on accounts of events which usually had occurred five years or more before the interview. These accounts may well be coloured or distorted by subsequent events. No doubt they also omit much forgotten material which would contribute to fuller understanding. Though the following sections should be read with these limitations in mind, much of the sometimes fragmentary evidence is confirmed and rounded out by findings from other investigations of the decision process. (Note 16)

Motives and Attitudes

To arrive at agreement among members of the family may be one of the most important aspects of the decision process, and sometimes, the deciding one. Among the respondents were a few whose migration had been delayed for many years until the death of a parent. A small minority migrated unwillingly because a wife, son or daughter refused to stay on the farm.

It was not unusual for respondents to state that they had been thinking of leaving the farm for years - sometimes as many as ten - before they were able to take definite steps to do so. Nor was it unusual for farmers to spend two or three years, after they had definitely decided to migrate, in finding a buyer for the farm, disposing of machinery and livestock, and accomplishing a complete switch-over to urban life.

2

Much of the decision process is concerned with the resolution of strongly conflicting feelings many farmers have concerning their farms. There is much evidence from this study, and from the study of farmers displaced by community pastures, to indicate that even years after migration farming has a strong attraction for many farm-reared people. The majority of those who were interviewed liked many aspects of farming - e.g., being their own boss, working with animals, being outdoors, running tractors, working with machines, developing their land, etc. They also felt at home on the farm and considered it a superior environment for children.

Sometimes there was an emotional attachment to land which had been worked by a father, and a sense of obligation to continue pursuing goals which had been inherited from dead or retired fathers. Very often the farm was identified with the period of youth, maximum strength and early married happiness. Some loved the familiar contours and seasonal beauty of the land they had cherished for years. Others missed the friendliness and helpfulness of former farm neighbours and friends. Looking back, *32 per cent of the respondents had wholly positive attitudes toward farm life*. Some still held onto their land and cherished hopes of returning after they had accumulated enough assets to start again. For these people, the decision process, as it relates to permanent settlement in a city, is still going on.

A large group of 51 per cent had mixed attitudes toward farm life. For them the attractive features of farming were more or less balanced by the unattractive ones. Some placed a high value on rural life, but felt that farming with inadequate resources was too hard and unrewarding. Along with the pleasures of riding a tractor on a clear spring morning, seeing the young grain push through the earth, watching the growth of young animals, or bringing in a harvest, they recalled the hard and unending work of the farm, the inability to get away for even brief holidays, the constant anxiety about weather conditions, the heartbreak of crop failures, the mounting debts, and their inability to provide even little luxuries for their wives or important educational opportunities for their children.

Only 17 per cent of the respondents had completely negative attitudes toward farm life, and were wholly committed to urban life. It is possible that if attitudes of wives and children had been directly assessed, a higher proportion of them might have been completely alienated from farm life.

The superior material comforts of city life received little attention in these discussions. Respondents may note that they have many more "conveniences" in the city, but these conveniences seem to have only superficial significance to them. Of much greater importance than indoor plumbing, hot and cold water, and central heating, are space, fresh air, privacy, independence, family closeness, and satisfaction in work.

One important lesson to be learned from this is the fact that *evaluation of the relative advantages of farm and urban life continues even after migration.* In fact, migration may proceed in both directions - from farm to city and from city back to farm. It will be recalled that 43 per cent of this group had previously been away from the farm for periods of a year or more and had returned to farming after this. (Note 17)

Reasons for Leaving the Farm

The factors that finally activated the move to an urban centre could vary widely, depending on differences in the situation, family characteristics, personalities, opportunities and resources of the respondents. To cite one major difference, although a majority of 79 per cent felt they had voluntarily made the choice to move off the farm, about 20 per cent felt they had no choice. Fourteen per cent stated that they were compelled to move by factors like cancelled leases, a fire, accidents, ill health, threatened loss of the farm because of accumulating debts, loss of sons whose labour was needed, inability to hire help, etc. Seven per cent said they had to move when a wife or other family member insisted on it.

When their reasons for leaving were probed, 70 per cent attributed their migration to changes in their on-farm situations which made it increasingly difficult to maintain the farm. Many among these believed that, eventually, these changes would force them off or into dependency, and they preferred to leave while they still had a choice. These changes in the situation are summarized in Table 17.

Expectations about trends in the structure of agriculture were of importance in the decision process. A third of the respondents felt they might as well concede defeat in a losing battle with major changes.

The most common reason for migration was a change in the farmer's criteria for an acceptable way of life, resulting from his exposure over a period of years to deprivation and to repeated frustrations. Decreasing tolerance for the insecurity and the dangers of farm life, changing standards of well-being and increased wants of a growing family were also commonly cited.

Less than one in three said they had migrated because new alternatives, like job offers or opportunities to sell the farm, had entered into their situations.

Employment Expectations in the City

The lack of perceived alternatives to farming as an occupation was an important deterrent to migration for many of these respondents. Aware of their inferior education and lack of training for urban occupations, as well as of the handicap of their ages, a considerable number hesitated to cut themselves loose from their farms for fear that they and their families would find themselves in even worse circumstances. Consequently,

TABLE 17 - REASONS GIVEN FOR MIGRATION

Reasons Reported	Respondents %	
Failure of Farm to Meet Desired Criteria re:	89*	
Higher standard of living		41
Better educational opportunities		31
Progress and fulfilment of need		27
Freedom from worry, from the tension of the constant gamble in farming, etc.		23
Improved social life, reduced isolation, etc.		19
More stimulation, cultural opportunities, etc.		8
Vocational aspirations		7
Greater physical safety		5
More financial security, steady income		5
Closing Lines of Action on the Farm	70	
Sickness, accident making it difficult to farm		23
Repeated crop failures, death of livestock		22
Increasing debts threatening loss of farm		20
No sons left on farm, no one to leave farm to		12
Acreage too small, unable to buy more		10
Advancing age, unable to manage work		9
Family quarrels and break-ups		7
Lease expired		6
Economic and Social Changes	32	
Cumulative effects of cost-price squeeze		23
Farming becoming a big business, unable to adapt		9
Thinning of rural population		2
Greater focus by rural people on urban centre		1
New Opportunities or Alternative Lines of Action	31	
A job offer in an urban centre		16
An opportunity to sell the farm		15
New skills acquired		2
A relative established in city offered help		1
New assets acquired		1
Number reporting	100	

*More than one reason could be tabulated in any category.

they waited until their farm situations became impossible to cope with or until they were forced off by circumstances beyond their control.

Relatively few had any definite jobs to go to. The largest group - 27 per cent - expected to work as unskilled labourers; certainly not an attractive alternative to farming, either in terms of the kind of work performed or the money earned. Another 17 per cent had no plans whatsoever, but were merely hoping that they would be able to get some jobs.

As shown in Table 18, better than a quarter expected to get into jobs connected with construction, arguing that their handiness with tools on the farm would qualify them for construction work. Twenty-one per cent expected to find skilled labouring or service jobs. Only 16 per cent aspired to the higher status white-collar or professional occupations.

TABLE 18 - RESPONDENTS' EMPLOYMENT EXPECTATIONS BEFORE MIGRATION

Employment Expectations	Respondents* %
Unskilled labouring jobs	27
Construction work, carpentry	26
Other skilled labouring jobs	9
Service and custodial jobs	12
White collar, business and professional	16
Primary occupations in city	5
No plans - whatever they could get	17
Number reporting	100

*More than one answer possible.

Many heads of the family hoped to earn money in other ways if they had difficulty in finding regular employment in the city. Some families expected to extend the wages of the male head by taking boarders and roomers. Wives, too, were ready to look for part or full-time employment. Since the wives were no better qualified for urban occupations than their husbands, their aspirations also did not usually reach higher than unskilled jobs. (Note 18)

The expectations of these families concerning the urban occupations which would be open to them were not, on the whole, unrealistic. Their experiences in looking for work will be discussed in more detail later. Forty-one per cent of them were in unskilled labouring jobs at the time of the interview. This corresponds to the findings of other research indicating the lack of upward economic mobility of many migrants to cities from rural areas (Freedman and Freedman 1956).

Choosing a New Location

The choice of a new location in which to live and work is a necessary step before action can be taken on the decision to leave the farm. What criteria guide migrants from rural areas in making this kind of choice? Data from this study give only a partial answer. Omitted from the study are those who settled in villages and towns, who might have had quite different criteria.

Not all the respondents had moved directly to Saskatoon from their farms. A majority of 71 per cent had gone there immediately, but 19 per cent had lived in one other place before moving there, 6 per cent had lived in two other places, 3 per cent had moved three times, and one had moved four times.

Among this group of respondents, 77 per cent had moved to a city directly from their farms, 11 per cent had moved to a town and 12 per cent to a village, usually the one closest to their farm. Those who had moved to small towns and villages found the employment opportunities and the wages insufficient to satisfy their wants. Some of them also felt that the physical facilities and social milieu of the small town were worse than were to be found either in farm communities or in cities. Dissatisfaction with schools in small urban centres was commonly noted. Three who had invested in small businesses - a garage and two hotels - were unable to operate them profitably. Background interviews indicated that farmers who moved into villages and towns frequently invested in property there, which then prevented further mobility because it could not be resold at the purchase price.

The reasons for choosing Saskatoon as a place to live indicate that the majority appeared to be trying to eliminate the lines which strictly divided the farm situation from the urban, in order to synthesize the two. Thus they hoped to hold on to some of the good things of farm life, while seeking new opportunities in the city. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents desired to move to a place where they could maintain close family ties or other social contacts. An almost equal number of respondents, sixty per cent, chose Saskatoon as a city which they believed would provide expanded opportunities - employment for themselves and better education for their children. Close to these leading reasons was the selection of a city where they had traded before migration; a city where they had visited or worked before. A minority of about a third had chosen Saskatoon for reasons specific to that city, which matched the preferences or criteria of the respondent: they liked the new, clean, modern look of the city, the excellent medical and hospital facilities, the size (neither too big nor too small), the city's reputation for being friendly to farmers, the beauty of the river and its banks, etc. Table 19 shows the complete list of reasons.

For a majority of 54 per cent, the choice of a new location was made in the contexts of *both* the desire to preserve continuities with farm life and the hopes for an improved situation after migration. Twenty-seven per cent of the group were solely concerned with minimizing their separation from the physical location and social community of the farm. The smallest group - 20 per cent - were entirely focused on the future and the prospects of desirable changes through migration.

TABLE 19 - RESPONDENTS' REASONS FOR CHOOSING SASKATOON

Reasons	Respondents %	
Preserving Social Ties	62*	
Relatives living in Saskatoon		30
Knew many people there		21
Grown or married children there		11
Wanted to make home for children there		7
Friends there to help them get established		5
Church was there		4
Expected to Find Expanded Opportunities	60	
More job opportunities in a city		45
Better schools		24
More recreational and cultural events		1
More opportunities (general)		4
Continuities with Former Farm Life	51	
Nearest city to the farm, could visit, etc.		27
Familiar with the city from former visits		23
Former trade centre		10
Had formerly worked there		1
Matched with Personal Preferences	32	
New, clean, modern		10
Excellent medical and hospital facilities		6
Not too big a city, quiet streets		4
River and banks, scenery beautiful		4
Friendly to farmers		3
Progressive, prosperous city		2
Climate better than other possible choices		1
Like Saskatoon (general)		8
Number reporting	97	

*Within any major category more than one reason could be given.

Types of Decision Processes

As suggested by the data in Tables 17 and 19, markedly different types of decision processes were described by these migrants from farms, depending on their situations, their criteria, and their personal and family characteristics. For example, some respondents were still so committed to farming that their criteria of action related mostly to minimizing the change and keeping the door open for a return to farming. Others were so alienated from their farms by hardships and frustration that their main concern was finding the means to get away. In choosing a new location, some of the respondents - about a third - said they had no clear criterion, or only one criterion which guided their choice, while about a quarter represented themselves as having considered the city from many different points of view before migrating there. These differences in discrimination and criteria may well be related to the degree to which the migrants had already become urbanized. Urbanization may be considered essentially an orientation to a life in which the individual must learn to deal with many different criteria which apply to different kinds of situations; the traditional rural life, on the other hand, is guided by much more limited criteria which apply in nearly all situations.

The different ways in which the farmers reached the decision to migrate are summarized here.[1]

Type 1. Long-Term Attempts at Problem Solving

This was the most common type to be found among this group of respondents and included 37 farmers. The farmer was initially committed to farming and concerned with the exploration of alternatives which would make a success of the farm unit: trying different farm methods, trying to supplement farm income by winter work, farming from town, etc. Failing this, he was concerned with unblocking committed lines of action which would minimize losses. Together these two processes usually consumed a minimum of two to three years - often many more, e.g.:

> "The hardest part about farming is the financial. If I had luck on the farm, the crops, cattle, chickens, I would have stayed. I did have some luck. I had eight milk cows producing well. Then five died. Then I tried pigs. They

---

[1] One respondent could not be classified.

> had only 2½ per litter and it was too much money for the vet. Out of 63, half died one year. I hit bad market years. Eighty pigs made 50 cents a pig. I tried chickens. They became ill and egg prices were down. I like farming because you're your own boss and are free to do what you want. I thought about it for a long time, back to when we were married in 1952. The last year and a half it really pressed me more. The last three years on the farm I was carpentering. Two years before I was doing part-time work. At first I wanted to go back to longshoring. I made a lot more there. But I was kept home because Dad was too old and my young brothers were still too young. Dad figured there was room for two of us on the farm. Maybe years ago, but not today. When my brother was older I wasn't free to leave because by then we had joint loans and he wouldn't buy it. He was going to sell. But finally my young brother offered to buy and got a loan. I was able to get my investment out of the land and to buy a house in Saskatoon. I also found I could make more money in Saskatoon. I worked my way off the farm and into the city gradually. I had been working further away gradually; first Rosthern, then Saskatoon."

Type 2. Short-Term, Low-Conflict Decision Process

This type of process usually occurs when there is a change in the farmer's criteria of evaluation, generally in response to new experiences or changes in his situation. This category included 29 farmers. It was associated with changes in the situation, e.g., accidents, ill-health, financial crises, family quarrels, decision of a son to leave, etc., which changed the farmer's criteria, expectations and aspirations. Though the decision was made in a relatively short time, implementation of the decision might have required a longer time, depending on the sale of farm assets, finding work, etc., e.g.:

> "Our eldest daughter had gone as far as she could in school and was ready for university. We had had two dry years with no crop. A fire burned all our machinery and we had no insurance. Everything piled up and my wife was a little cheesed off with the community. We thought about the change about two months. We were held to the farm because it was our way of life. You thought you could do something different and make money. You're paying for the land and you've got something. It was my wife's old home and beautiful when we remodelled it. It was good land, the

> best in the Carrot River Valley with natural water supplies. But we wanted to move. We didn't plunge. It was an experiment. The oldest girl was looking forward to it and was coming regardless. The fire was probably the deciding factor. If we hadn't had the fire we would likely still be there. We took a furnished suite in the city as an experiment just for the winter and left everything on the farm. The wife went back the first summer and kept the suite in town as a home for the children in the university. But the suite was too crowded with three grown children. Then we bought a house in 1958 and my wife moved in."

Type 2a, with 6 farmers, is a subtype in which there appears to be *no conscious decision* to leave farming. As illustrated in the example below, the farmer makes *ad hoc* adjustments to economic pressures, then finds that his commitment to farming has disappeared, while the urban adjustment satisfies his requirements better.

> "I never thought about getting out of farming at all. The thing that was hardest about farming was the lack of cash income. I went off for a summer to Melfort to do carpentry work. It was good, so I just stayed on. I was just a victim of circumstances. I wouldn't have gone off the farm if I didn't need some extra money to pay taxes. During those years, the quota system didn't allow us to sell enough grain to pay taxes."

Type 3. Long-Term, High-Conflict Decision Process

This process, experienced by 33 farmers, was one lasting many years, sometimes as many as 10, during which the respondent fluctuated between hopes and disappointments, always looking forward to a good crop year to "make it". A single-minded commitment to farming delayed acceptance of the inadequacy of the farm unit to provide an acceptable living for the family, or the respondent found himself unable to choose between two more or less equally unattractive or insecure prospects, e.g.:

> "I thought about giving up farming quite a while, three or four years. I could see at that time the small farm was going to be keeled out - might as well leave while getting

> out was good. Machinery was getting so high, power would be so expensive so far out. If crops were good you could get along. One bad crop, you needed two to catch up. Confident about moving? Well, I couldn't be any worse off - with the frost and the grasshoppers. What the hell have you got? But I took that long because I thought maybe times would change, that the government would do something. I had a surplus and had to go to elevators 40 miles away to get a few dollars. No advance payments, long line-ups to sell wheat. It's a wonder there wasn't a revolution among farmers."

> "My relatives thought I should have given up 10 years before I did. I was living on my uncle's unbroken quarter and he was to give it to me, and my own quarter would have been summer-fallowed. I got into a mixup. My uncle's tractor got tied up and my land was too dirty to crop. So I had no crop. I went to Canora to work in my uncle's lumber yard for a year and kept the machinery, intending to break the extra quarter. But we didn't get it broken that year, so we decided to give it up and come to Saskatoon. It took me so long to get off because I kept thinking we'd make it. Every bad year we thought about it, but then a good year would come and we would wait. If we hadn't had the last two crop failures we would have made it. I was two years behind in taxes. The tractor was old and in need of repair. Nothing to live on. A cream cheque every week. I felt that if that second quarter could have been broken I'd have made it. The fellow that took it had the machinery to break it and got enough in one crop to pay for it. I was gambling on something like that happening. It always looked like 'next year' I'll make it."

Type 3a included 13 farmers, is one in which the act of leaving the farm to migrate to the city appears to be an impulsive, ill-considered one with little weighing of consequences. However, careful interviewing and analysis usually reveal long-term, high-conflict situations with severe frustration over a long period. The precipitating incident is interpreted as "the last straw" and given a significance which may seem out of proportion to its seriousness, e.g.:

> "I lost three head of cattle in one night. I sold the others next day and moved out. My cows were freshening and died. You work two or three years and take a loss like that. It was too much. Actually I had been thinking

about giving up farming a year or two. I was worried about getting a job if I left; afraid I wouldn't have the opportunities to work. I was held to the farm mostly because of being my own boss, not having to punch the clock. Around home there were not too many jobs and I had lived there all my life. It was a big decision to drop everything and take off 500 or 600 miles. My family didn't feel so good when I wanted to leave. Then my lease ran out. I was a little disappointed as to the terms of the new lease. My uncle had promised me the land, then he wanted to give it to his son. The biggest thing, though, was our living accommodations. We were living with my folks until I could put up a house on my own place. Two couples in one house don't work. We had difficulties all over the place. My wife and I didn't have enough privacy. Then my cattle died, and I picked up and moved the next day." (Note 19)

CHAPTER V

ADJUSTMENT TO URBAN ENVIRONMENT

One of the main objectives of this study was to investigate the extent to which migrants from rural areas were able to adjust satisfactorily to their new environment. Before this can be done, one must decide what adjustment is and how it should be evaluated. What is the meaning and function of adjustment in the migration process? From whose point of view - the migrant's, the "average man's", or of the government agencies concerned with social change and manpower adjustment - should adjustment be judged as "good" or "poor"? How can adjustment be measured? Should it be measured relative to that of non-migrants in the rural areas left behind, or to the pre-migration state of the respondents; to that of the indigenous urban residents or to that of migrants from other urban areas; or to some ideal of "good" adjustment relative to the goals of the society? All of these perplexing problems had to be considered in the analysis of the data from this exploratory study. Any answers offered must be regarded as tentative, valuable mainly as useful hypotheses concerning causative relationships and as possibilities for methods of prediction and evaluation.

To understand the meaning and function of adjustment in migration, it is necessary to draw a distinction between two uses of the term. First, it may be treated as a *process of interaction* between the self and the environment, concerned with the changes in each that are necessary to obtain some workable fit. Second, it is used as an evaluative term to describe a *condition* or state of an individual, at a particular point in time, resulting from this process of interaction. In this the standards or norms of the society are introduced to place an individual's adjustment as "good" or "poor" relative to some ideal of the society. Sometimes the idea of the "average man", or the limits defined by the "majority" is also applied (Jahoda 1958, Weinberg 1961).

The process of adjustment is a never-ending one and its continuing, developing character is of much greater significance to both the individual and the society than is the state of adjustment, relative to a set of social norms, at a particular time. The direction and utility of the adjustment process frequently cannot be judged by the state of the individual's happiness or by some ideal state of the society. The fact that adjustment is taking place between an individual's criteria and the lines of action provided by his situation may be the occasion for his experiencing tensions, conflict and unhappiness, even though the result of this process may be eventually an improvement. On the other hand, a workable arrangement from the individual's standpoint may involve behaviour that is unacceptable to the society. Note the disapproval of individuals who have reduced their wants sufficiently to be content on farms but which can produce only a very low standard of living. (Note 20)

A severe limitation of the present study was the lack of opportunity for more than one observation in time. Accurate evaluation of the nature and direction of changes resulting from the *process* of adjustment, and of the relation of these intervening experiences, would require a minimum of two properly-spaced observations. Future research, it is to be hoped, will provide an opportunity for repeated observations in time of a panel of rural migrants in order to learn more about the process of adjustment. (Note 21)

The view adopted in developing an index of adjustment for this study is that the pre-migration state of low-income farmers is one of social isolation from the majority Canadian society. However, social isolation from the majority society does not necessarily mean that the rural migrant had been socially isolated in the rural society. In fact, most of the respondents, before migration, had been involved to a relatively high degree in the social network of the farm community. Consequently, successful integration into the social systems of the urban society usually means a gradual and sometimes unhappy alienation from the social systems of the previous rural milieu. Unless this separation can be effected, the rural migrant may fail to seek or accomplish an adequate social integration in his urban milieu, and may become rootless or return to the farm. (Note 22)

In the following sections, some aspects of the respondents' adjustment to urban life are examined. In the next chapter, an attempt is made to combine a number of these factors in order to arrive at an index of their general adjustment relative to human development goals.

Length of Time since Respondents Discontinued Farming

From this study or other sources, there is no way of knowing the duration of urban residence for all former farm operators now living in Saskatoon. Consequently, other than restricting interviews to those who had moved off farms within the previous 10 years, no attempt was made to control this factor in selecting respondents. Among the former farm operators who were interviewed, *few could be considered to be undergoing the early phases of adjustment to an urban environment. Eighty-one per cent had been in an urban environment for at least two years.* Six per cent had left farming within the previous six months, 13 per cent had left from six months to two years earlier, 27 per cent from two to five years earlier, and 54 per cent from five to ten years earlier.

Employment

Difficulties in adjustment to city employment were by far the most common problems reported by the respondents. These difficulties included a range of problems, especially unemployment and inadequate wages for providing a minimal standard of living. Other hindrances to occupational adjustment were dislike of the regular and limited hours of work, the lack of independence, the monotony of the work, the separation of work from the self, a sense of lower status and non-achievement, and a dislike of the kind of work done. Nearly a third felt that their personal characteristics of age, low education and lack of skills cut them off from any hope of satisfactory work achievement in the city. Altogether, three-quarters of all respondents reported employment difficulties of one sort or another.

Two years commonly passed before the migrant either achieved sufficient job security or arrived at a workable acceptance of his city job. Others had not yet been reconciled after periods of ten years in the city.

Delays and failures in adjustment to employment were all the more serious because they seemed to interfere with other areas of economic, social, and psychological adjustment, and to affect family relationships in an important way. The reciprocal male and female roles of husband and wife were disturbed when the wife had to seek employment to supplement her husband's earnings. Parent-child relations also suffered from the father's sense of inadequacy and frustration and the mother's absence from the home.

A minority of 44 per cent had gone into jobs almost immediately after migration to the city and had suffered no unemployment problems of any significance. A somewhat larger group had been unemployed for periods ranging from a few months after migration, through seasonal unemployment during the first year or two in the city, to chronic unemployment still persisting at the time of the interview. Altogether, 35 per cent said they had received unemployment insurance at some time after leaving their farms.

TABLE 20 - RESPONDENTS' UNEMPLOYMENT EXPERIENCES

Unemployment Experience	Respondents %	
None; had a job waiting	37	44
None of any significance; found a job soon after migration	7	
Unemployment periods of:		
A month or two at first, none since	3	
Seasonal unemployment the first year or two, but none since	15	
Unemployment up to six months	11	
Several periods of unemployment up to six months	9	
Lengthy unemployment of more than six months	7	
Chronic seasonal unemployment	2	
Chronic unemployment, still persisting	9	
Total	100	

Table 20 summarizes the unemployment problems. It can be seen that a lag in absorption into the urban labour force had been a more or less serious deterrent to urban adjustment for nearly half this group. During the period of adjustment to employment the family was likely to undergo severe stress, heightened by economic insecurity. The data suggest that initial periods of unemployment in the city might be reduced through pre-migration counselling. For example, those who moved after harvest in the fall, when seasonal unemployment was rising, seemed to have had a more difficult time than those who moved to the city in late winter or early spring, when unemployment was declining. Also, more effective connections with the National Employment Service might speed employment. Forty-nine per cent applied to NES, but relatively few (12 per cent) found this a successful method of getting satisfactory employment. Direct application to employers (40 per cent) and information and recommendations from friends and relatives (26 per cent) were more often reported to be successful. The classified advertisements in the newspaper were about equal to the NES in providing leads to employment.

When interviewed, 91 per cent of those in the labour market had found their way into full-time jobs, three per cent were employed part-time and six per cent were unemployed and looking for work. The unemployment rate among the respondents was nearly three times that prevailing in the Saskatoon labour force as a whole at that time. Thus, compared to urban residents, this group of respondents seemed to be at some disadvantage in employment opportunities.

At the time of the interview, 93 per cent of the respondents were in the labour market, three per cent were students and four per cent were incapacitated by sickness or accidents. *Forty-two per cent of the wives were also in the labour market,* and an additional 12 per cent were doing the work involved in taking two or more boarders. Among the wives in the labour force, 69 per cent were employed full time, 29 per cent were employed part time and two per cent were seeking work. In the majority of cases *wives had entered the labour market because their husbands' earnings had been insufficient to support the family.*

In spite of their difficulties, these families had made strong efforts to remain self-sufficient. Though a small minority seemed to have been defeated and more or less permanently broken by the stresses and disappointments of their farm experiences, and more were discouraged and unhappy in the city, the over-all impression derived from these interviews was of a group of determined, persistent, and independent people who prided themselves on their willingness and ability to work hard. Some who had left their farms in desperation said that they had not known what they would encounter in the city, but had felt that their willingness to take any kind of work would see them through. For the most part their efforts to remain independent had been successful.

Little evidence could be found that these former farm operators as a group had presented much of a social aid problem to the city. A confidential check of current social aid files of the city had turned up only a handful of men who qualified for inclusion in the study, though there were considerably more current cases of other types of rural migrants, including the aged, former farm labourers and widows of farmers. At the time of the interview, *four per cent of the respondents were receiving social aid.* Altogether, *the families of nine respondents had received social aid at some time since leaving farming.*

Economic independence is no guarantee of satisfactory occupational adjustment. *Rather than regarding city employment as a step toward upward mobility, many respondents considered it to be a come-down from the status of independent farm operator.* Furthermore, a considerable number were disappointed in their pre-migration expectations concerning city occupations. A minority of the respondents - 17 per cent - stated that they had had no structured expectations concerning the kinds of jobs they would be able to get in the city, and another 27 per cent expected to get nothing more than unskilled labouring jobs. However, the remainder anticipated finding employment in various kinds of skilled, service or white-collar occupations. The largest number of these, 26 per cent, expected to find work in the construction industry, concentrating on carpentry. *Among these, 45 per cent reported that their pre-migration expectations concerning level of occupation were matched by the jobs held at the time of the interview, 43 per cent were working in occupations at a lower level than they had expected, and 12 per cent were in jobs whose level exceeded what they had expected.* These comparisons are necessarily rough ones because any occupational category covers a range of status and skills.

Somewhat more than half of the employed respondents were, at the time of the interview, working in unskilled labouring jobs or as hired farm workers in the city or on its margins.

(Employment on the university farm or as a gardener for the city were examples of this.) Three quarters of the employed wives were working at unskilled or service jobs. As shown in Table 21, the proportion of respondents in unskilled jobs was much higher than among Saskatoon male workers as a whole.

TABLE 21 - EMPLOYED RESPONDENTS COMPARED WITH EMPLOYED MEN IN SASKATOON

Occupational Group	Former Farm Operators %	Employed Saskatoon Males %
Professional and executive	9	26
Clerical and sales	7	18
Service and recreation	10	11
Transportation	4	10
Skilled labour	18	26
Unskilled labour	41 } 52	6 } 9
Primary occupations	11	3
	100	100
Number reporting	88	23,391

The findings of this study concerning the occupational mobility of migrants from farms to city are not inconsistent with data from similar studies in other parts of the world. Other studies have shown that farm-reared migrants tend to move into the lowest categories and most poorly paid occupations in the city and show little upward mobility over time (Lipset and Bendix 1953, Freedman and Freedman 1956). *Although job shifting was common among the respondents, particularly during the first one or two years, the majority of these shifts were horizontal ones within the same level of occupation.* Seventy-eight per cent had shifted city jobs at least once (the modal number was three, but a fifth of the respondents had held four or more jobs), *but 67 per cent were still in the same level of occupation as their first job after migration.* Thirteen per cent had moved into jobs at a higher level, 15 per cent had moved to jobs at a lower level, and five per cent had moved out of the labour market.

Though most of the respondents would concede that city occupations provided more security than farming, *many found their city jobs joyless, dull and lacking in opportunities for achievement.* On the farm they felt that work was part of self and that a man could be as ingenious and creative as he wished and was able. But in the city, as Karl Marx observed, the wage earner is alienated from his work and merely sells his services for a certain number of hours a day. Work and self become separated so that the worker loses the sense that what he is doing has significance. Some respondents' comments illustrate this:

> "I don't like living in Saskatoon. In here you get up by the clock, work by the clock. On the farm you pay attention to the clock but you don't live by it. Out there you start and stop working as you feel like it. The city dweller is like a mechanical man. You get up, eat, go to work, take lunch time, work, come home at a certain time. And that's all there is to life".
>
> "On a job you are always responsible to the boss. On the farm you do everything for yourself. All the work you do is for your own improvement and you reap all the benefits."
>
> "As far as the work is concerned there is nothing better than the farm. It's the only life you can have that's got lots of variety. City jobs are monotonous, no matter what they are. There's always something different on the farm - especially with mixed farming and the change of the seasons. You are your own boss."
>
> "I'm a nobody here, but you feel as if you're doing something on the farm. We're told, you can't do something because you're not trained. I can do anything better than an engineer."
>
> "If I was a young man, I wouldn't like my city job, but at my age you got no choice. It's not a job you get pleasure out of."

Wives shared their husbands' sense of loss of status, and often missed their own farm work. Many felt they had no important work to do in the city, though on the farm they had played an essential part.

Not all of the respondents felt that farming was preferable to city occupations. Some enjoyed the greater opportunities for leisure activities, the relief from exhausting physical labour, the freedom from worry about debts and crops, the regular pay cheque each month and the greater opportunities for social contacts during work.

Additional Education or Training since Migration

More than half the group had done nothing to upgrade their qualifications for urban employment, but 43 per cent reported further education or training of various kinds (Table 22).

TABLE 22 - RESPONDENTS' POST-MIGRATION EDUCATION OR TRAINING

Type of Course	Respondents %
On-the-job training	17
Apprenticeship	1
Educational upgrading courses	4
Technical training courses	11
University or professional school	3
Correspondence courses	5
Sales and public speaking courses	2
Total reporting additional education	43
None	57
Total	100
Number reporting	100

The proportion reporting on-the-job training seems open to question in view of some comments of respondents. The numbers are probably an overestimate resulting from confusion between work experience and on-the-job training.

Some who had made no attempts to obtain training had low levels of elementary education, or none; others were uninformed about the opportunities for training; and still others felt they were too old.

Income

The majority of respondents were more or less informed about wage scales for urban jobs when they moved into the city. Many of them had had previous experience in working off-farm during months when they had less to do on the farm. Others had talked with relatives or friends who were working in urban occupations. About a third had found jobs before making their break with farming. Consequently, the instances where wage rates were less than expected were not too frequent.

However, their perception of the buying power of these earnings tended to undergo marked revision soon after their move. The cost of housing, utilities, and food, all of which had involved no immediate cash outlay on the farm, sometimes shocked people who had never before spent so much on day-to-day living expenses. Some former farm wives found they lacked purchasing skills and the specialized knowledge of products and prices needed for the management of such sums of money. Moreover, city standards of dress, home furnishing, entertaining, etc., began to displace the rural standards and to raise levels of expectations concerning consumption. Since poverty is a relative thing, families who were consuming in the city at a much higher level than on the farm not infrequently felt worse off than they had in the rural environment.

A common response to this discrepancy between consumption requirements and income was to try to increase the sources of income. As we have seen, few of the respondents were able to move to higher level jobs. However, with increased time in the city they did manage to increase their income. This was accomplished in a variety of ways: 42 per cent of the wives found employment, 26 per cent of the families took roomers or boarders - 13 per cent had one boarder, 5 per cent had two, and

8 per cent had three or more. Also, the man's earnings frequently increased as he was able to get into a full-time job, and to acquire seniority which protected him against long periods of seasonal unemployment. Skill in searching for employment, increased contacts in the city and increased skills also helped to raise annual wages.

The distribution of estimated total annual family incomes of the respondents as a group was similar to the income distribution of Saskatoon families as a whole, in spite of the relative confinement to occupations in the lowest categories.

The data shown in Table 23 should be interpreted in the light of the fact that *the average family size in Saskatoon as a whole was 3.5, while that in the group of respondents at the time of interview was 4.5.* This meant that the average per capita income of respondents' families in 1965 was approximately 16 per cent lower than the average per capita income in Saskatoon in 1961. Probably additional adjustments should be made to allow for increases in average per capita income between 1961 and 1965.

TABLE 23 - RESPONDENTS' ANNUAL FAMILY INCOMES IN 1965 COMPARED WITH SASKATOON INCOMES, 1961

Annual Family Incomes $	1961 Saskatoon Wage-Earner Families %	1965 Respondents %
Under 3,000	14	16
3,000 - 4,999	41	41
5,000 - 9,999	40	40
10,000 and over	5	3
Total	100	100
Number responding	15,816	99

Because of a discrepancy in income categories, it was not possible to break down the middle groups any further in the above comparison. It is worth noting, however, that only seven per cent of the respondents had incomes over $8,000.

The way in which working wives contributed to family income is indicated in Table 24, showing that the proportion of families with wives working full time rises from 20 per cent among those having incomes of $3,000 or less, to 38 per cent among those with incomes of $5,000 a year and over.

TABLE 24 - EMPLOYMENT OF WIVES IN VARIOUS INCOME GROUPS

Employment	Total %	City Annual Family Income		
		Under $3,000 %	$3,000 - $4,999 %	$5,000+ %
Not employed outside home	60	67	60	57
Employed part time	12	13	20	5
Employed full time	28	20	20	38
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	98	16	40	42

Those who had worked in the city for longer periods were likely to have achieved higher family incomes, as shown in Table 25. Thus the data from this study suggest that, as their residence in urban areas lengthens, migrants to the city from farms are increasingly able to share urban consumption patterns. However, early rehabilitative services would shorten periods of hardship associated with the initial phases of urban adjustment, and would help to ensure adequate eventual adjustment.

Unfortunately, the class intervals used for reporting family income were not sufficiently fine to permit conclusions about the proportions falling below a poverty line. If an annual family income of $4,000 is used as a dividing line marking the urban poverty group, then more than 40 per cent of those who

TABLE 25 - ANNUAL FAMILY INCOMES COMPARED WITH LENGTH OF URBAN EMPLOYMENT

Annual Family Income $	Length of Urban Employment Under 2 Years %	 2 to 5 Years %	 5 to 10 Years %
Unemployed	11	4	-
Under 3,000	28	20	9
3,000 - 4,999	39	32	43
5,000 - 7,999	16	44	39
8,000 and over	6	-	9
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	18	25	56
Estimated median income	$3,050	$4,625	$4,907

had been off the farm for less than two years, more than 25 per cent of those who had left farming within the last five years, and more than 10 per cent of those who had been in the city for five to ten years could be counted among the poor of the city. These data suggest the strong connection between rural migrants and city poverty.

Comparisons with pre-migration incomes are difficult to make both because of the weaknesses in estimates of farm incomes and because of the lack of correspondence in buying power between farm and urban incomes. However, the following contingency table gives some idea of the amount of shifting that has taken place in the incomes of respondents relative to the average income in the community of residence (Table 26).

It will be observed that although approximately a third of those whose farm incomes had been below average moved to above average city incomes, more than a third of those whose farm incomes were above average moved into the lower half relative to city incomes. There was a slight over-all gain for the group. A tetrachoric correlation coefficient of +.45 was found between farm income and city income positions.

TABLE 26 - RESPONDENTS' CITY INCOMES COMPARED WITH GROSS INCOME ON FARM

Respondents' City Income**	Farm Income*		
	Below Average %	Above Average %	Total %
Above average	32	62	42.5
Below average	68	38	57.5
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	65	34	99

* Gross farm incomes of $5,000 and over considered above average; approximately 50 per cent of this should be deducted for expenses.

**City incomes of $5,000 and over considered above average. The average wage-earner family income in Saskatoon in 1961 was close to this.

TABLE 27 - CITY INCOME BY RESPONDENT AGE GROUP

Respondent's City Income $	Age at Migration		
	Under 40 %	40 to 49.9 %	50 to 50+ %
Under 3,000 a year	3	14	33
3,000 - 4,999	44	40	40
5,000 and over	53	46	27
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	32	35	30

Groups of respondents having different characteristics with respect to age and education were found to differ significantly in the level of their city incomes. Men who were over 50 at migration were much more likely to have below average incomes; and more poorly educated men were similarly handicapped, though to a lesser extent (Tables 27 and 28).

TABLE 28 - CITY INCOME BY RESPONDENT EDUCATIONAL GROUP

City Income %	Education		
	Some Grade School %	Completed Grade School %	Some High School or Better %
Under 3,000 a year	27	12	11
3,000 - 4,999	46	54	25
5,000 and over	27	34	64
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	30	32	36

These findings indicate the greater need of human development services for groups which are particularly handicapped without special assistance.

Housing

About a third of the respondents stated that finding adequate housing was a problem for them when they moved into the city. Those who did not have enough capital to buy a house immediately had the most trouble. The rent for houses was reported to be too high, especially during the first year or two, when many had only temporary or seasonal employment. Apartments large enough for their large families were scarce at the level they could afford, so that they were sometimes forced to live in undesirable neighbourhoods and in inadequate space. This tended to increase their difficulties in getting used to the social milieu of the city. Under the best urban conditions, these prairie farm people felt confined in the city and bothered by the problems arising from greater density of population.

Not all those who were able to buy homes immediately escaped problems relating to housing. Farm values provided little guidance in choosing city housing. The choice of a neighbourhood appeared to have some relation to the speed of their social integration. Those who settled in downtown neighbourhoods with a high proportion of working people felt the city to be unfriendly and cold. Some who purchased homes in upper-income neighbourhoods felt handicapped by their farm backgrounds and ignorance of city forms of behaviour. Occasionally they were unable to keep up with the consumption patterns of their neighbours because the capital derived from the sale of their farms allowed them to buy property in neighbourhoods where average incomes were much higher than their own.

On the whole, those who settled in middle-class neighbourhoods among middle-aged people who shared farm backgrounds or city occupations, away from the centre of the city in less crowded areas, seemed to be most satisfied with their housing and neighbourhoods. Initial mistakes in choosing a neighbourhood required many to make moves within the city, lengthening the time required for social integration.

Ownership of property appeared to be almost a universal goal of these farm-reared people, related to feelings of both status and security. By the time of the interview, *86 per cent had purchased the homes they were living in.* This proportion is high compared with the proportion of owner-occupied dwellings to be found in Saskatoon as a whole (70 per cent). Housing investments were the source of some conflict for these former farmers. Frequently they had put all they received from the sale of their farms, representing the achievement of years of hard labour, into the purchase of a city home. The land on which it stood seemed far less valuable as an investment than their prairie acres.

Adjustment to the denser population of the city and confinement to small areas were reported as difficulties for various family members. On their farms the men had ruled over a small, but complete, realm including family, animals, and producing land. In the city, they felt they were crowded into a small space where they were ruled by unfamiliar and unaccepted city standards, and were constantly observed and judged by their neighbours. Farm-reared children also lacked their former large-space activities and found little to occupy them in the city. Work-addicted farm people often missed their farm chores and had too many hours of leisure time on their hands. The loss of outdoor space, privacy, freedom, and opportunities for creative work with land and animals frequently seemed more significant to some of these people than the improvements in other aspects of their housing. The following quotations give some of the flavour of the former farmer's reaction to city housing:

> "In a city you have a little chunk of land, neighbours all around. On the farm - lots of room, lots of privacy. There are times when a man should be able to go off by himself and find out who he is."
>
> "You're like a fish in a bowl in a city. You can see into the neighbour's window and they can see into yours. There's no privacy. The noises bothered me most at first. And there is friction about kids - even adults get involved. You never find this on a farm. I like the conveniences. But I dislike the noise and the crowding."
>
> "What's nice about this crowded city? Here everyone can see you when you go out. There it is like a kingdom of your own. In the city I can hardly stand it in the spring."
>
> "When spring came I bawled. I wanted to go home to my chickens. In the city you are just lost. It's a different way of life. You have to be born in the city to really like it."
>
> "When you come home from work at night there's nothing to do. I'm not much on hobbies or anything. But on the farm there's always something to be done. Here you just have a 50-foot lot."

There is no question that the material comforts and conveniences of the present housing are an immense improvement over their former farm homes. Table 29 shows the distribution of the sizes of houses (in terms of number of rooms) respondents lived in on the farm and in the city at the time of the interview.

TABLE 29 - COMPARISON OF THE NUMBER OF ROOMS IN FARM AND CITY HOMES

Number of Rooms	Farm Homes %		Present City Homes %	
Three and under	20		2	
Four and five rooms	39		17	
Six to eight rooms	27	41	64	81
Nine and over	14		17	
Total	100		100	
Number reporting	89		89	

The average number of rooms in Saskatoon dwellings is 5.0. As shown above, nearly three-quarters of the former farm families lived in larger dwellings, a finding which must be interpreted both in the light of the larger family size and the fact that nearly a third have one or more boarders living with them. To a certain extent, the greater amount of space in city homes was utilized as an opportunity for economic gain, rather than to provide an improved amount of indoor space for family members.

There were also the expected increases in living standards associated with a greater number of amenities in the home. Most of the homes conformed to middle-class city standards in these respects and were described by interviewers as attractive, well-kept, and adequately or well furnished. Comparing farm homes and city homes as to the amenities normally expected in city living (telephone, electricity, radio, television, basement, central heating, running water and flush toilet) all but the poorest families were found to be conforming to city standards. Eighty-two per cent had all eight of the listed amenities, and 13 per cent had all but television. This was a marked change from their farm homes, where 61 per cent had had only four of the eight amenities, and only 13 per cent had seven or eight.

Summarizing their attitudes toward city housing, it may be said that many enjoy the conveniences provided by city living, but the value placed on these by farm-reared people differs from that of urban people. The disadvantages of city housing and neighbourhoods seem to be felt more keenly than the advantages. No attempt was made to measure male and female differences in attitudes toward city housing, which might well have been great.

Social Integration

For some time after migration, many of the migrants tried to maintain their social ties in the rural community from which they had migrated. Visiting, attending church, going to social functions "back home" and returning to familiar and loved physical surroundings, presumably help the migrants to maintain their sense of identity, in spite of the changes in the self-image that accompany migration. Farm products were brought back to the city, perhaps as tokens of continuing participation in rural life. The intensity of these efforts to preserve a place in the rural community seems to diminish as integration in the new community takes place. (Note 23)

In spite of the fact that many of them had family and friends living in the city, they frequently experienced a sense of social isolation because of the difference in the forms of social interaction in the city and in the farm community. (Note 24)

About two-thirds of the respondents mentioned experiencing some difficulty in social integration upon moving to the city. Their feelings about this are indicated by the following quotations:

> "People in the city are more reserved as compared to country people. Here you're good friends with people on the job. When you leave the job they cease to exist. It's hard to get to know people."

> "You can't make friends in the city. We got people, neighbours living next door. Never been in their house. Saskatoon people don't want to know us. We're different. That's not quite right, it's partly our fault, too. We don't go and see them, and we can't sit and expect them to come to us."

> "Life in Saskatoon is quite different from that on the farm. There is less community life, more getting to know your own clique instead of all your neighbours like on the farm."

> "Everybody is so engrossed with work. There's one big humdrum in Saskatoon. Pedestrians are rushing, they never look at you. They look through you. This frightened me. I wasn't scared of the cars, but of the pedestrians. Here you're just a cog in a wheel. There (in the country) you're part of something."

> "In the country you know everybody for miles and miles, but in the city you don't know many people, never seem to see them."

Many rural migrants seemed to perceive the city social setting as an impersonal and indifferent one. Some experienced it as actively unfriendly and competitive, as in the following example.

> "There's not the same competition between farmers. I look back on farm life as being able to make a living in real relaxing situations. It's the feeling of confinement and dog-eat-dog attitude that prevails in the business world, you know. Always pressures - time, competition in the field, can't really trust anyone, help yourself." (Note 25)

Another source of difficulty in personal relations was that in the farm community their status and sense of worth depended less on their modes of personal consumption and more on the traditional puritan virtues of hard work, thrift, conscientious performance of social roles, etc. In the city respondents found that neither the ability to work more than eight hours a day nor skill in limiting consumption in favour of thrift had the positive value in maintaining a position in the community that they had on the farm. On the contrary, they sensed that they and their children were judged by the way they dressed, furnished their homes, entertained, and participated in the cultural events of the city. Though some indicated a rejection of the consumer ethic, others wished to adopt it but were hampered by lack of experience and by low incomes.

Other conflicts between the values of farm-reared people and the values and organization of city life appeared to disturb the respondents' relations with others. Some of these affected the family itself. On the farm, the dominant social system appeared to be the family, and family closeness was a major goal related to the maintenance of the economic family unit, the preservation of reciprocal roles, the significance placed on farm achievement, and the sense of worth of the farmer and his wife. The respondent and his wife shared both the work and the goals of farming and spent much time together. Parental roles were also related to the teaching and sharing of farm work.

In the city the respondents found that the family was separated to a much greater degree. Parental authority was weakened by greater exposure to other authorities. Control of children, particularly adolescents, was less. The migrants had little to teach their children which would help them get along in the city, while parental roles were complicated by the need to teach behaviour conforming to city standards, and to supervise the care of smaller children much more closely. Parents worried about the difficulties their children had in adjusting to city schools and to the ways of city children. Husband and wife performed their work separately and began to live in different worlds.

Nonetheless, having children of school age appeared to be an advantage to the social adjustment of farm families in the city. Even if the father's employment provided him with few psychic rewards and inadequate financial ones, he could derive a sense of achievement from feeling that he had given his children better educational and occupational opportunities.

Moreover, through their children the migrant and his wife could find a way into the social system of the city through interaction with the parents of their children's friends and participation in school, church and community organizations. Perhaps the children also helped to attune their parents to the expectations of urban living more quickly.

Compared to other city residents the respondents as a group were not unusually isolated socially. On the contrary, their rate of participation in church and community organizations, and their informal contacts with relatives and neighbours would indicate a fairly high level of social participation. As shown in Table 30, there was a tendency toward a reduction in the informal contacts with relatives and friends in the city as compared with the country.

TABLE 30 - COMPARISON OF INFORMAL VISITING WITH RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN THE COUNTRY AND IN THE CITY

Amount of Visiting	Country %	City %
With Relatives:		
A good deal	50	30
A fair amount	39	58
Little or none	11	12
	100	100
With Neighbours:		
A good deal	63	43
A fair amount	26	34
Little or none	11	23
	100	100
Number reporting	90	90

Church membership had increased from 77 per cent in the country to 89 per cent in the city, and nearly two out of three said they attended regularly. However, few of the respondents, 17 per cent, were actively involved in any church organizations, though more of the wives and children were. A study of the population of downtown Saskatoon made in 1965 indicated that people reared on farms and in small towns had difficulty with the impersonality and status groupings of city churches (Abramson 1965a).

As for participation in other types of organized social groups, 31 per cent of the respondents belonged to none and another 25 per cent who had membership in some organization took no active part. Among those who participated actively, 17 per cent were involved in one organization and 27 per cent actively participated in more than one. Previous involvement in organized groups in the rural community was not a good predictor of city participation. Fifty-nine per cent of those who had belonged to two or three organizations in the country, and 49 per cent of those who had belonged to four or more organizations, had no active involvement in any city organization. Thus many of the respondents experienced a marked reduction in social interaction, which is far from adequately explored by the data given above.

Social adjustment seemed especially poor among former farmers who had operated moderately successful farm units. Often they had been leaders in their farm communities, sometimes having occupied positions on the school board, church council, or rural municipal council. Migration to the city and subsequent employment in lower-status occupational groups had been accompanied by an awareness of their loss of social status and influence. (Note 26)

Adjustment to the Physical Setting

Nearly half of the respondents said that getting used to some aspect of the shift in the physical setting was a problem to them after they moved to an urban area. They missed the outdoor life of the farm (21 per cent); disliked the confinement of city jobs and houses (12 per cent); suffered from a lack of fresh air and water (10 per cent); failed to get used to the noise of the city (9 per cent); and were confused and upset by city traffic (6 per cent). Wives and children were reported to have had similar reactions; some even more severe than their husbands.

Difficulties in adjusting to the city setting seemed to have some relation to their inability to free themselves from the work roles and annual cycle of farm life. Some of the respondents mentioned that homesickness for the farm reached a peak in the spring with the renewal of the annual cycle. As one respondent explained, "the tie to farming is not something you just turn off."

Preferences of some of the respondents for outside work and for large areas of living space and open sky were so strong that they seriously interfered with their employment and personal adjustments in the city. Among those in this study who gave the impression of greatest contentment were the men who had managed to find jobs in agricultural occupations within the city. (Note 27)

Psychological Problems

The interview schedule that was used in this study was not designed to explore in any specific way the psychological problems of adjustment that were encountered by these respondents migrating to the city. However, the open-ended discussions about city life kept bringing to the attention of the analyst the prevalence of symptoms of varying kinds and degrees of psychological stress. *Nearly 60 per cent of the respondents spontaneously indicated some symptom of psychological stress,* the severity of which could be judged only roughly from the emphasis of expression and the apparent relationship to the realities of the situation. The data cannot show how many more respondents might have reported such symptoms if these areas had been directly covered in interviewing. The reported symptoms included:

(1) strong nostalgia for a farm which was otherwise described as providing only a miserable living (27 per cent);

(2) feelings of insecurity and anxiety about survival in the city (23 per cent);

(3) role adjustment problems (22 per cent);

(4) feelings of being constantly pressured and driven in the city (19 per cent);

(5) instability, restlessness, nervousness (16 per cent);

(6) disillusionment with city life because of a discrepancy between expectations and experience (11 per cent);

(7) feelings of persecution (9 per cent).

The prevalence of reports of stress symptoms may be related to the finding, discussed earlier, that many of these families had gone through a period of intense strain immediately before migration, and were probably in an unfavourable condition for meeting the many new strains of the post-migration period. The need for personal counselling of all family members is further indicated by the fact that 57 per cent reported difficulties in their own personal adjustment or that of some other family member as one of the factors interfering with urban adjustment.

A background interview was made with a Saskatoon psychiatrist concerning his observations about patients coming from farm backgrounds. The number that have been referred to him has not been large, but he pointed out that this may be due to inadequate referral systems and differences in concepts of illness, rather than because of differences in rates of mental illness. His farm-reared patients tend to be more seriously ill when they are referred than those with urban backgrounds.

The psychiatrist has seen more farm wives (most of them over 50) than farm men. These patients were likely to have shown symptoms or to have had breakdowns before migrating to the city. This observation confirms the impressions of this survey that the psychological stresses of the low-income farmer before the decision to migrate are frequently severe. The move, he said, is likely to trigger a sequence of events which may lead to rapid deterioration, in which the most typical symptoms are those of involutional depression.

Also confirming suggestions from this study, he observed that men *under* 40, whom he had seen, had reacted poorly to the change in status and had become dependent on social agencies, or on a wife who had found work in the city when they had difficulty in doing so. Reactions to the loss of a farm, in view of the farmer's identification of self with farm, may be compared to those of an amputee who has lost part of himself.

Changes in Attitudes toward Farm and City

Considering adjustment as integration into a new social system with concurrent detachment from the former social system, we should expect that good adjustment of rural migrants would involve changes of attitudes over time toward both farm and city life. If the adjustment is successful, we should be able to observe increasingly favourable attitudes toward the city. Does this, in fact, occur? The design of this study does not permit an examination of changes within individuals over time, but it is possible to compare the attitudes of respondents who have been resident in the city for different lengths of time. To test this hypothesis an over-all coder's rating was made of the general attitude toward the city and toward the farm as displayed in the total interview. Respondents were rated as to whether their comments concerning each were generally *positive* and favourable, generally *negative* and unfavourable, or *conflicted*, which is to say fairly balanced between positive and negative.

For the group as a whole, longer residence in the city was not significantly related to increasingly favourable attitudes toward city living. *Time alone did not appear to produce a greater or more positive acceptance of the city way of* *life.* This is shown in Table 31, where the proportion of those who had lived in an urban area over five years and have positive attitudes toward it is no greater than among those who had lived in an urban centre under two years. In every group about half had favourable attitudes toward the city, the remainder were about equally divided between those who were conflicted and those who disliked the city.

TABLE 31 - RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY BY LENGTH OF OFF-FARM RESIDENCE

Attitude Toward City	Total %	Length of Off-Farm Residence Under 2 Years %	2 to 5 Years %	Over 5 Years %
Positive	50	48	57	48
Conflicted	22	26	22	20
Negative	25	26	17	28
Other	3	-	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	100	23	23	54

By contrast, attitudes toward the farm did show some trends. In every group the commonest attitude was one of more or less balanced conflict concerning the advantages and disadvantages of farm life. Although, in this small sample, the relationship is not statistically significant, there seems to be a trend in time toward resolution of conflicts over the farm environment. As shown in Table 32, 61 per cent who had been in the city under two years had conflicted attitudes compared to 56 per cent who had been off the farm for two to five years and 45 per cent who had been away for over five years. One might interpret this change as a relative shift in the attractiveness of the farm resulting from post-migration experiences, or as forgetting the more difficult aspects of low-income farming.

TABLE 32 - RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDE TOWARD FARM LIFE BY LENGTH OF OFF-FARM RESIDENCE

Attitude Toward Farm	Total %	Length of Off-Farm Residence		
		Under 2 Years %	2 to 5 Years %	Over 5 Years %
Positive	32	22	35	35
Conflicted	51	61	56	45
Negative	17	17	9	20
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	100	23	23	54

These findings make the somewhat obvious but forgotten point that time alone, except through death or resignation, will not solve the problems of migrants. During a given period, changes may occur in their personal adjustment to the environment, either for better or for worse. Apparently, the experiences of this group in the city were not sufficiently favourable to facilitate a better adjustment in the group as a whole.

Further research with larger samples would produce more definitive answers to questions related to adjustment. There are suggestions in the data that a more complicated pattern of attitudinal change takes place over time, representing the interplay between the migrant's expectations and his experiences in the city. In the following paragraph, an attempt has been made to reconstruct this process and identify more or less distinct phases of it.

Departure from the farm most frequently represented a decision involving high risks for the migrant. The step was often taken in a family atmosphere of intense stress and uncertainty. *Forty per cent expected to do no better in the city than to subsist* and, of these, many expected that even subsistence would require heroic effort and a determination to undertake any kind of job or combination of jobs that could be found.

Their prospects, they realized, were not hopeful because of their low education, lack of skills and advanced age. About a third were handicapped by poor health and physical disabilities when they moved. Moreover, some felt they were psychologically unadapted to the competitive atmosphere of the city. Evidences of lack of confidence as the result of long years of failure and frustration, ending in conceded defeat, are also present. With this background, migration to the city for many was not a positive choice of a preferred way of life but a forced choice.

Though many of these families had a hard time after moving into the city, it was frequently not as hard as they had expected. His acting upon a long-unresolved decision about leaving farming was probably in itself some evidence that the respondent could produce changes in his situation that did not entirely depend on chance or fate. The help of friends and relatives in the city and the unexpected kindness of new neighbours compensated them for the loss of their former social supports. Every small promise of employment was encouraging, even if jobs were of short duration. Thus respondents who had been in the city for a short time (six months or less) seemed to be relatively hopeful and positive in their attidudes.

However, this phase seemed to be followed by one of more strain, as they realized that initial periods of stress would be prolonged, perhaps indefinitely. As they continued to encounter periodic unemployment and to be confined to poorly-paid jobs, as their standards shifted from those of the rural community to those of the city, as family relations deteriorated under prolonged stress, their morale seemed to drop after the first few months. Within a period of about two years, however, it was usual for them to find some means of adapting to insecurity of employment and low wages: they acquired some seniority, some improved skills, their wives found employment, they took boarders. For a while the improvement in their economic security seemed to give them a sense of achievement. Many clues in the data suggest that those who had left the farm from two to five years earlier shared a more hopeful attitude with those who had just come to the city. However, with increasing time, their lack of occupational and economic mobility made many feel that the city experience was a repetition of the farm: they could not get anywhere on the farm, and they could not get anywhere in the city.

Increased nostalgia for the farm seemed to accompany alienation from the city. A few were determined to get back to farming if they could ever again acquire the capital to purchase a piece of land.

These clues to the phases of adjustment experienced by rural migrants might be summarized as:

(1) a short period of *euphoria* and *confidence* following the move to the city, related to relief from indecision, the confidence developed from making a move to control their own fate, and from more favourable experiences than they had expected;

(2) a longer period of *strain* associated with their social milieus and physical settings, and with changes in their self-image;

(3) a period of *accommodation* in which they more or less stabilized their position and achieved some security and ways of adapting to the new environment;

(4) a period of *adjustment to reality* which may be either favourable or unfavourable, depending on how well their own criteria fit the lines of action available to them in the city.

Obviously some migrants may not go through all these phases. They may stop at one, or skip one or another phase. Without further research, this tentative identification of several phases of adjustment must be regarded as hypothetical.

CHAPTER VI

PREDICTION OF URBAN ADJUSTMENT BEFORE MIGRATION

From the data presented in the preceding chapter, it is apparent that adjustment is a complex process which depends upon a number of economic, social, and psychological factors. At any particular time, the state of adjustment may be good in one area of life and poor in another. It is important to have some over-all measure of his *general adjustment*, since the adjustment process does concern the whole man and not isolated aspects of his behaviour. An index of general adjustment would be useful in a variety of ways:

(1) in studying the effects of various kinds of urban experiences on the adjustment process of migrants;

(2) in studying the relative adjustment of migrants having different characteristics, e.g., young versus old, men versus women, those with low education as compared with those with higher levels, etc.;

(3) in providing a criterion of adjustment useful in testing the accuracy of methods of predicting successful adjustment to an urban environment before migration;

(4) in diagnosing the type of adjustment problems which may be encountered by a particular family, so that referrals may be made to human development programs designed to prevent these difficulties;

(5) in evaluating the efficiency of various human development programs in facilitating adjustment.

In the first half of this chapter, an index of general adjustment will be proposed and its effectiveness in distinguishing groups of migrants who exhibit varying kinds of adjustment to the urban environment will be examined. The second half of the chapter will report the results of a feasibility experiment in developing a predictive measure of urban adjustment, based on information that would be available before migration, and will relate this predictive index of adjustment to the state of adjustment found at the time of the interview. Those cases for which prediction is poor will be examined in order to determine, for future methodological research, the most promising lines for improvement of the predictive index.

In attempting to develop a predictive index to future urban adjustment, it is assumed that adjustment will depend on (a) the characteristics of the migrating family and their farm situation before migration, and (b) their post-migration experiences. Without the means to control all aspects of post-migration experiences, therefore, perfect prediction of urban adjustment would not be possible, no matter how valid the predictive index might be. Consequently, human development programs designed to improve the chances of good urban adjustment may be thought of either as those concerned with the *prevention* of post-migration experiences which will interfere with successful adjustment, or with the *removal* of deficiencies in personal or economic resources which will prevent successful urban adjustment. Looking at the problem of human development in this way, it becomes apparent that some programs should be preparatory, some should be transitional and others should include long-term supports.

Again it must be emphasized that this study is based upon a small number of cases so that differences must be quite large before they are statistically significant. An enlarged sample might reveal relationships which cannot be detected with this size of group. A second limitation to what can be done in a feasibility experiment of this kind is that all attitudinal data toward farm life and migration are retroactively reported and may be influenced by post-migration experiences and by forgetfulness. Thus, very promising attitudinal ratings which might improve the predictive index have not been included in the index, for fear of confounding the findings. And finally, it must be remembered that the study deals with only one type of migrant. For these reasons, no exhaustive or refined statistical analysis has been made. It is to be hoped that the exploration of the method will serve as a guide to future methodological research.

Development of an Index of General Urban Adjustment

The objective of migration and adjustment is integration of the migrant into the majority urban society in a way that (a) permits the sharing of opportunities for normative consumption, (b) provides participation in group and community activities, (c) encourages a harmonious relation to the urban environment, and (d) permits interaction of the individual with the social milieu in a way that realizes the values of the society, while permitting the development and fulfilment of the individual. The index of urban adjustment which was developed included four variables, each of which was selected to represent one of the four aspects of integration listed above.

1. *Annual family income* was selected as an index of ability to share the normative consumption behaviour of the urban society.
2. *Number of memberships* in organized social groups in the city, both church and secular organizations, was selected as an index to participation in group and community activities.
3. *A rating of attitude toward city life* was included as representative of the relationship to the urban environment.
4. *A rating of personal adjustment* into one of three types of interaction with the environment was taken as evidence concerning the interactive relationship between the individual and his social milieu.

The details concerning the scoring of these four items may be found in Appendix II.

On the basis of scores using this index, respondents were assigned to one of three adjustment types hereafter identified as the *Integrating* Group, the *Accommodating* Group, and the *Isolated* Group. Those in the Integrating Group had the highest scores, representing a type of general adjustment coming closest to the ideal as defined above. Those in the Accommodating Group had medium-range scores and demonstrated a type of adjustment which might be thought of as a workable arrangement, within the context of their limitations and denials, on the whole acceptable to both society and the migrating family. Those in the Isolated Group had the lowest scores and included both unhappy, frustrated, dissatisfied people and those who were economically dependent, chronically ill, unstable, etc. From the standpoint of the majority urban society, the first two groups probably present no serious social problems. The Isolated Group includes individuals who are problems to themselves, their families, and sometimes to society.

Obviously in separating respondents into these types, no conclusions can be drawn concerning the proportions of all rural migrants who achieve each of these types of adjustment. It is not possible, either, to make comparisons with other types of migrants or non-migrants. Furthermore, where one draws the lines separating the three groups is as arbitrary a matter as where one draws the poverty line. However, this method provides a means of comparing the characteristics of people who evidence different types of adjustment. It also supplies a measure of general adjustment useful in attempting to construct a pre-migration index which will predict urban adjustment.

Problems of Adjustment Encountered by the Three Adjustment Groups

In the analyses of general adjustment which follow, six respondents who had migrated to the city six months or less before the interview have been omitted. It was felt that their urban experience was insufficient to permit an adjustment classification.

Those in the Isolated Group were much more likely to report a larger number of difficulties in adjustment to the urban environment than were those in the Integrating Group. Also, as shown in Table 34, their difficulties often tended to be of a different kind. For example, 64 per cent of the Integrating Group, 84 per cent of the Accommodating Group and 94 per cent of the Isolated Group reported some difficulty with employment after migration to Saskatoon. The differences in the proportions of these groups reporting inadequate wages are much greater: only 13 per cent of the Integrating complained of low wages, but 72 per cent of the Isolated stated that this was a problem. Similar differences in the kinds of problems encountered in the major areas of adjustment may be observed throughout Table 34. The Accommodating did not always occupy a mid position in the number and kinds of difficulties encountered. Sometimes, the members of this group were more like those who were isolated.

The difference in the range of adjustment problems is shown in Table 33.

TABLE 33 - NUMBER OF PROBLEM AREAS MENTIONED BY ADJUSTMENT GROUPS

Number of Problem Areas	Adjustment Group		
	Integrating %	Accommodating %	Isolated %
One or two	32	10	3
Three to six	52	51	31
Seven and over	16	39	66
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	31	31	32

Whether the reported problems were the cause or effect of the kind of adjustment achieved at the time of the interview cannot be settled by a survey of this kind. However, it is worth noting that problems related to consumption are reported nearly equally by all groups; family problems are also more equally distributed. Difficulties with employment, social

TABLE 34 - REPORTED DIFFICULTIES OF ADJUSTMENT GROUPS

Reported Difficulties	Total %	Adjustment Groups		
		Integrating %	Accommodating %	Isolated %
Employment (summary)	*81**	*64**	*84**	*94**
Seasonal, temporary, and part-time	52	42	61	53
Inadequate earnings	38	13	29	72
Adjustment to working conditions - hours, indoor work, supervision...	29	19	29	38
Lack of qualifications	22	19	19	28
Lack of achievement satisfaction from urban work	19	16	16	25
Dislike of kind of work done	16	13	13	22
Age problems with employment	12	10	7	19
National Employment Service not helpful	2	-	3	3
Other employment problems	3	-	7	3
Social Integration (summary)	*69**	*48**	*81**	*78**
Social isolation, loneliness, inability to make friends	49	36	55	56
Adjustment to the diversified urban social structure	29	19	32	34
Adjustment to urban norms of social behaviour	16	10	23	16
Adjustment to constant exposure to social controls and pressures	13	3	16	19
Control of social contacts in the denser urban society	11	-	19	13
Adjustment to urban values	4	3	13	-
Difficulty with law	1	-	-	3
Psychological (summary)	*63**	*32**	*68**	*88**
Unrealistic nostalgia for old farm	29	3	26	56
Insecurity, anxiety	24	10	23	41
Role adjustment problems, both family and work roles	23	7	26	38
Over-compensation, pressured	20	16	36	9
Instability, restlessness, nervousness	17	3	23	25
Disillusionment with city	12	-	13	22
Paranoia, feelings of persecution	10	-	13	16
Use of leisure time	9	3	13	13
Chronic ill-health, possibly psychosomatic	9	-	7	19
Dissociation	3	-	3	6

Table 34 cont'd

Reported Difficulties	Total %	Adjustment Groups		
		Integ-rating %	Accom-modating %	Iso-lated %
Personal and Family Problems (summary)	*61**	*42**	*71**	*69**
Wife's nostalgia for farm	15	13	16	19
Wife's adjustment to city roles	14	3	26	13
Children's adjustment to social milieu	13	10	26	3
Family separation, not close in city	12	7	19	9
Wife's social integration	11	7	3	22
Children's adjustment to school	11	10	16	6
Children's homesickness for farm	9	7	16	3
Wife's adjustment to physical setting	6	7	7	6
Physical handicap developed after migration	6	3	3	13
Chronic illness after migration	4	-	-	13
Break-up of family, separation, divorce	4	-	7	6
Inability to control children	4	3	3	6
Consumption (summary)	*59**	*52**	*58**	*66**
High cost of living - a shock	31	29	32	31
Adjustment to buying all goods and services	26	16	19	41
Housing problems	21	16	16	31
Rising standard of living	6	13	3	3
Control of spending, more alternatives	3	7	3	-
Lack of consumer skills	1	3	-	-
Physical Setting (summary)	*44**	*32**	*32**	*6[illegible]**
Miss outdoor life	22	13	16	38
Feeling of confinement, restriction	13	7	7	25
Lack of fresh air and water	11	3	7	22
Noise	10	7	10	13
Traffic	6	7	3	9
Outdoor recreation not accessible	5	3	7	6
Lost in city	3	-	3	6
Miss physical surroundings of farm	2	3	-	3
Miss beauty of farm	2	3	-	3
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	31	31	32

*Summary percentages include all those who mentioned one or more of the difficulties under the heading.

integration, psychological adjustment, and adjustment to the physical setting, though reported by a large proportion of each adjustment group, bear much more heavily upon the Accommodating and Isolated than upon the Integrating Group.

Relation between Duration of Urban Residence and Adjustment

Those who had been in the city less than two years were more likely to evidence the pattern of behaviour which placed them in the Isolated Group than those who had been there longer. Table 35, which shows this decrease in the number classified as Isolated among those with two or more years of residence off-farm, also indicates no significant increase in the number classified as Integrating.

TABLE 35 - RELATION BETWEEN DURATION OF URBAN RESIDENCE AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Duration of Residence (Years) Under 2 %	 2 to 5 %	 Over 5 %
Integrating	33	23	35	35
Accommodating	33	18	39	35
Isolated	34	59	26	30
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	12	25	57

The above data emphasize the strains of the first two years after migration, which have been discussed in earlier sections. They also make the serious point that from a quarter to almost a third of these rural migrants had not achieved a satisfactory state of adjustment to the urban environment even after lengthy periods of residence in the city.

Relation between Age and Adjustment

No straight-line relationship was found between age and adjustment to the urban environment. Table 36 shows that men who were 50 years of age or over when they left the farm were significantly more likely to be in the Isolated Group than men who were between the ages of 40 and 49. There appears to be some tendency for younger men to make poorer adjustments than the middle-aged men, and better adjustments than the older ones, but the differences with groups this small are not significant.

TABLE 36 - RELATION BETWEEN AGE AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Age of Removal (Years) Under 40 %	40 to 49.9 %	50 and Over %
Integrating	33	33	41	23
Accommodating	33	30	38	30
Isolated	34	37	21	47
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	30	34	30

Qualitative findings would suggest that younger men may have more personality difficulties related to the acceptance of their relatively low status in the city, and their greater dependence on the family, than middle-aged men who are oriented to the conjugal family and the improved prospects they can provide in the city for their children. However, in every age group a sizeable minority of respondents remained in the Isolated Group even after five years of urban residence.

Relation between Education and Adjustment

Though there is a general tendency for higher levels of education to be predictive of better urban adjustment, the relationship is not a strong one below the level of high-school graduation. Among this group of respondents the number who had graduated from high school was so small that no statements can be made with confidence about their relative adjustment. However, it is worth pointing out that those of the group who had less than grade eight education did not make significantly worse adjustments to the urban environment than those who had graduated from grade school or had some high school. The additional education was not enough to provide for occupational mobility in the urban environment.

TABLE 37 - RELATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND URBAN ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Less Than Grade 8 %	Grade 8 to 11 %	Grade 12 and Over %
Integrating	33	23	34	67*
Accommodating	33	32	32	33
Isolated	34	45	34	-
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	31	53	9

*Number of respondents is so small that percentages have little meaning.

Relation between Non-Agricultural Work Experience and Adjustment

Those who had had no previous full-time, non-agricultural jobs were significantly more likely to be found in the Isolated Group than those who had worked in other sectors full time. In fact (Table 38), a significant minority, 24 per cent, of those who had previously held full-time, non-agricultural jobs were found in the Isolated Group.

Occupational experience before migration affected the man's adjustment. Fifty-two per cent of those who had never worked outside agriculture were in the Isolated Group, as compared with 25 per cent who had worked at unskilled jobs and 26 per cent who had worked at semi-skilled, skilled, white-collar

TABLE 38-RELATION BETWEEN NON-AGRICULTURAL WORK AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Pre-Migration Non-Agricultural Work: None or Part Time %	Pre-Migration Non-Agricultural Work: Full Time %
Integrating	33	25	38
Accommodating	33	25	38
Isolated	34	50	24
Total	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	32	62

or other types of jobs. Those who had some degree of specialization were not more likely to make good adjustments than those with none. What seemed more relevant for general urban adjustment was the degree to which the earnings of the man had matched his pre-migration expectations. Those whose earnings exceeded their expectations were more likely to be in the Integrating Group, while those whose expectations were not met were more likely to be in the Isolated Group. This was independent of the level of earnings.

TABLE 39 - RELATION BETWEEN PRE-MIGRATION EXPECTATIONS ABOUT EARNINGS AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Fulfilment of Expectations About Earnings: Expectations Exceeded %	Expectations Met %	Expectations Disappointed %
Integrating	33	46	31	11
Accommodating	33	36	36	21
Isolated	34	18	33	68
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	39	36	19

Relation between Previous Mobility and Adjustment

Men who had never been off the farm for more than a few days were significantly more likely to be classed as Isolated in the city than those who had previously spent even a few months away from their immediate rural setting. However, those who had previously been away for a year or more seemed slightly less likely to make good adjustments than those who had been away only for the summer or winter months, though the differences are statistically negligible (Table 40). The former group includes some who were so conflicted about farming that they had previously tried to migrate to another occupation, but had found it unsatisfactory and returned to the farm.

TABLE 40 - RELATION BETWEEN PRE-MIGRATION MOBILITY AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Previous Mobility Little or None %	 Summer or Winter Months %	 A Year or More %
Integrating	33	22	46	11
Accommodating	33	28	36	21
Isolated	34	50	18	68
Total	100	100	100	100
Number responding	94	32	22	40

Relation between Attitudes toward the Farm and Adjustment

One factor that seems to be neglected in many discussions of rural manpower adjustment is the need to resolve conflicts about leaving the farm situation in order to prepare the way for satisfactory adjustment to an urban environment. There is much evidence in this study to indicate that attitudes toward the farm are important predictors of urban adjustment, and are an area in which counselling of migrants is of the greatest importance.

An important lesson to be learned from the present study is that urban adjustment does not depend in any simple way upon relatively better economic opportunities and living conditions offered by urban occupations and the urban setting. Some of the families who are living at a considerably higher level of consumption in the city, and who eked out a submarginal existence on the farm, yearn to return to an environment where they were more generally satisfied with their lives and had been happier. Other men, who have relatively good qualifications for urban occupations and make much better incomes in the city, exhibit unresolved tensions related to farming goals which continue to draw them back to farming. It is as if their farms presented a challenge which they never succeeded in meeting before migration and which keeps summoning them back to prove themselves. Still others continue to be victims of the "next-year farmer" psychology, even after they have left their farms. They feel that if they could only get a little better land, or more land, or have better luck with weather and crops, they could make a success of farming. Their doubts about the wisdom of migration are often reinforced by family members and neighbours back in the old rural neighbourhood, who may have counselled against the move.

Some of the data shown in the following tables suggest that complete acceptance of the need for migration and alienation from the farm are important prerequisites for integration into the urban society.

Even when attitudes toward farm life were conflicted, or fairly evenly balanced between the advantages and disadvantages, not much improvement in general urban adjustment was observed. Moreover, there was little relationship between the duration of residence off-farm and rejection of farm life. Few of the respondents in this study had completely rejected farm life.

TABLE 41 - RELATION BETWEEN ATTITUDES TOWARD FARM LIFE AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Attitude Toward Farm Life Positive %	 Conflicted %	 Negative %
Integrating	33	20	29	73
Accommodating	33	33	35	27
Isolated	34	47	36	-
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	30	49	15

The type of decision process which preceded migration was also clearly related to the kind of general urban adjustment that was achieved. Those who had experienced a long-term, high conflict about leaving were much more likely to adjust poorly to the city than those who had short-term, low-conflict decision processes.

TABLE 42 - RELATION BETWEEN DECISION PROCESS PRECEDING MIGRATION AND ADJUSTMENT

Adjustment Group	Total %	Short-Term Low Conflict %	Long-Term Problem Solving %	Long-Term High Conflict %
Integrating	33	48	31	23
Accommodating	33	33	34	29
Isolated	34	19	35	48
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94*	27	35	31

*One respondent who could not be rated for type of decision process is omitted from the body of the table.

The preceding tables suggest strongly that counselling concerned with the resolution of conflicts, unresolved tensions, and feelings of guilt and grief concerning the loss or abandonment of the farm, may be as important in facilitating the adjustment of rural migrants as is counselling concerning new opportunities in the urban environment. Though the number of cases is small, the data suggest that this may be even more important for younger than for older men. Those who leave after 40 are likely to have been pushed off by the spiral of rural poverty and to have been more thoroughly convinced that the farm environment could not meet their personal criteria of an acceptable standard of living. The younger men, however, have not stayed with the struggle so long and, moreover, still have parents living back on the farm whose own lives of struggle to maintain the farm lose meaning when the son leaves.

Relation between Selectivity in Migration and Adjustment

In choosing a new location, the application of more numerous criteria of choice was also related to the probabilities of good adjustment. Those who considered the choice of a new location from many points of view, as well as those who picked Saskatoon because its specific characteristics were considered desirable, were much more likely to make good adjustments. Fifty-five per cent of those who chose Saskatoon for specific reasons were in the Integrating Group, 29 per cent were in the Accommodating and 16 per cent in the Isolated. On the other hand, those who came to the city to be near relatives, or came seeking generally better job opportunities, did not achieve the same rate of adjustment.

Relation between Adjustment of Other Family Members and Respondents' Adjustment

Throughout this study there are many indications that the adjustment of rural migrants must be dealt with as a family matter and not as one concerning only the male wage earner. The negative aspects of this have been referred to earlier. It is also important to emphasize the ways in which positive, creative or integrative interaction of the wife and children with the urban environment facilitate the adjustment of the male head. For example, in Table 43, a clear relationship is shown between the number of memberships other family members have in formal urban organizations and the general urban adjustment of the male head.

TABLE 43 - RELATION BETWEEN MEMBERSHIPS OF OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS IN FORMAL URBAN ORGANIZATIONS AND ADJUSTMENT OF MALE HEAD

Adjustment Group Male Head	Total %	Number of Memberships Held by Other Family Members		
		None %	One, Two %	Three and Over %
Integrating	33	-	29	42
Accommodating	33	17	46	30
Isolated	34	83	25	28
Total	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	12*	28	54

*Base too small for percentages to be relied on.

The data shown above may be interpreted to mean that the social integration of the wife or children provides bridges and alternatives which facilitate the social integration of the male head. There is also evidence to show that a stable supportive family structure facilitates good adjustment even when the male head is severely handicapped by low education, advanced age, lack of experience in urban occupations, no previous experience of cities, etc.

Factors Not Significantly Related to Adjustment in the Present Study

Though a larger sample might demonstrate significant relationships, none were found in the present study between general urban adjustment and (1) the size and economic status of the former farm, (2) the type of farm operation, (3) the number of amenities in the farm home, (4) the relations with relatives and neighbours in the farm community, (5) the number of memberships or religious affiliation, or (6) the type of reason given for leaving the farm.

A Feasibility Experiment with a Predictive Index to Urban Adjustment

As we have seen in the preceding sections, a number of the respondents' characteristics were found to be related to their general urban adjustment at the time of the interview. This raises the question of whether it would be possible to predict fairly accurately the probabilities of good urban adjustment before migration on the basis of an interview and/or personality and attitudinal tests. If such predictions could be made, they would undoubtedly be most useful in programs designed to assist rural manpower adjustment. (Note 28)

In order to explore this possibility, a predictive index to urban adjustment was constructed, based on information from the present interviews which could have been available before migration. The items which were included in the index were:

(1) educational level;
(2) previous non-agricultural work experience;
(3) previous geographic mobility;
(4) type of decision process engaged in before removal from the farm;
(5) selectivity in considering alternative choices of new locations.

Details concerning the scoring of these items may be found in Appendix III. Each respondent was scored on this index, and the scores of respondents in each of the three adjustment groups (based on post-migration behaviour and attitudes) were compared to see how accurately assignment of the three groups could have been made before migration (Table 44).

TABLE 44 - RELATION BETWEEN PREDICTIVE INDEX SCORES AND ADJUSTMENT GROUP

Adjustment Group	Total %	Scores on Predictive Index -4 and Under %	-1 to -3 %	+3 to 0 %	+4 and Over %
Integrating	33	11	19	28	56
Accommodating	33	26	25	40	35
Isolated	34	63	56	32	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number reporting	94	19	16	23	23

A fairly high correlation was found between the predictive index, and the general urban adjustment group. Calculation of a contingency coefficient of correlation, corrected for the number of classes, yielded a C of +.55, which is 22 times the probable error if C were .00. Using an index similar to the one employed here, it would, therefore, appear feasible to construct a predictive index which would identify with fair accuracy those who would achieve integrating adjustments to the urban environment and those who would be isolated. Prediction of the Accommodating Group would appear to be more difficult.

Examination of the deviant cases in the present study (those whose predictive index did not correspond with their post-migratory adjustment) indicates regularities which could be introduced into a revised predictive index for future research. For example, without exception the respondents who made a good urban adjustment in spite of severe handicaps were members of conjugal families that had stable and mutually supportive structures. On the other hand, many husbands with relatively good qualifications for urban adjustment, but whose post-migratory adjustments were poor, had wives who appeared to be dependent, non-supportive or opposed to migration. In some cases the family appeared to be unstable. Also in the latter group were a number who still appeared to be bound to their families of origin, and others whose commitments to farming were still strong enough to prevent acceptance of the urban environment.

Predictive indices would be more useful if they allowed for relationship to family of origin, type of conjugal family structure and degree of commitment to farming, as well as for variables already employed. It seems possible to develop a scale of values to select those who would adapt well to the urban environment and those whose rural values would interfere with their assimilation.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The study was based on personal interviews with 100 former farmers who migrated voluntarily to seek employment in the medium-sized, agriculture-based city of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, between 1955 and 1965.

As a sample of farm operators who migrated to an urban centre their representativeness cannot be determined, because of an absence of basic comparison data concerning their characteristics. The group appeared to be fairly similar to Saskatchewan farmers generally with respect to factors like educational level, standards of living, social participation and mechanization of farms, but their farms tended to be smaller than the provincial average and mixed farming was more prevalent among them. This is to be expected, perhaps, of those who have been pushed out of agriculture during the past 10 years. The method of selecting the respondents produced a distribution of residents from all parts of the city.

Regardless of the extent to which the group represents migrants from farms to urban centres, comparison of the characteristics of those who had different patterns of adjustment within the group should be of considerable value in understanding the nature of the adjustment process and the psycho-social factors which affect it. (Figure 2)

Characteristics of the Farm and Community Situation before Migration

Two-thirds of the respondents had formerly operated farms within a hundred miles of Saskatoon. All but two were from Saskatchewan. Isolation from medical services, secondary schools, advanced training facilities and opportunities for social contacts had been important disadvantages leading to migration for a significant proportion of the migrants.

All the respondents had operated farms for themselves for at least three years prior to migration. The majority had had a long-term commitment to agriculture and had farmed for over 10 years.

More than half had worked a farm of a half-section or less. The median size of farm was 308 acres, which was small in comparison with the provincial median of 557 acres. Though somewhat more than a quarter of them had derived their farm income almost entirely from grain, more had obtained income from a mixed operation - small herds of cattle, cream, a few litters of pigs, and laying hens.

The majority had relied entirely on their farm income, but about a third had supplemented it with off the farm work. Median off-farm earnings of the latter group had been about $1,100 per year. More than half the group reported farm incomes and assets which were below ARDA standards of submarginality. However, a minority of the migrants had been moderately prosperous farmers who moved because the farm situation failed in some way to meet their wants and expectations.

There is no evidence to indicate that farm management within this group had been uninformed by, or unresponsive to, the technological changes taking place in agriculture. In fact the data suggest that mechanization of their operations had produced financial pressures which could not be supported by their small economic base. To some extent, awareness of inability to farm according to progressive standards was a factor in migration.

Before migration, many had lived in circumstances of material deprivation reflected in poor and crowded housing and the lack of many amenities considered necessary by urban standards. However, as a group, the living standards had not been too different from the norms of Saskatchewan farmers as a whole.

While the farm situation was one of material deprivation, it had provided sources of psychic satisfaction which tended to delay mobility and to make urban life, by contrast,

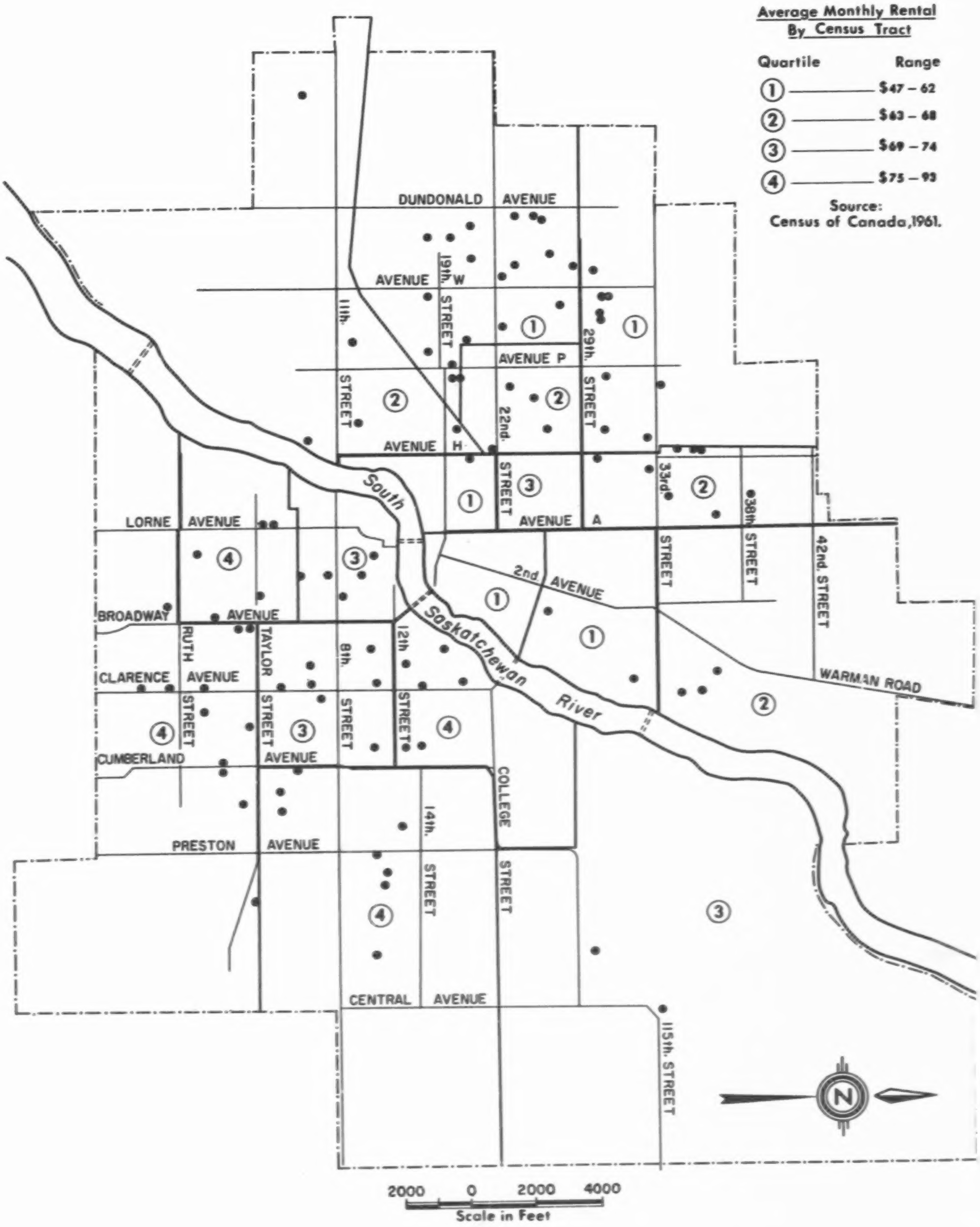

Average Monthly Rental
By Census Tract
Quartile
Range
① $47 – 62
② $63 – 68
③ $69 – 74
④ $75 – 93
Source:
Census of Canada, 1961.
DUNDONALD AVENUE
AVENUE W
19th. STREET
11th. STREET
29th. STREET
AVENUE P
22nd. STREET
AVENUE H
AVENUE A
33rd. STREET
38th. STREET
42nd. STREET
South Saskatchewan River
2nd AVENUE
WARMAN ROAD
LORNE AVENUE
BROADWAY AVENUE
RUTH STREET
TAYLOR STREET
8th. STREET
12th. STREET
CLARENCE AVENUE
CUMBERLAND AVENUE
COLLEGE STREET
14th. STREET
PRESTON AVENUE
CENTRAL AVENUE
115th. STREET
N
2000 0 2000 4000
Scale in Feet

FIGURE 2.
LOCATION IN SASKATOON OF THE RESPONDENTS' HOMES, SPRING, 1965.

less interesting and rewarding. The farmer's essential role within the bio-social ecology of the farm, the closeness of family, the identification of family and work roles, work demands that were provided by the situation rather than by other people, the sense of independence provided by the farm situation, the minimal security of the farm, and the outdoor life were aspects of farm life that still appealed to most respondents years after migration.

However, for the low-income farmer, the farm operation was likely to become a vicious cycle of repeated frustrations and failure, and of mounting demands on economic assets and psycho-physical energy. In the poverty process the data indicated that he was likely to become alienated from his farm without finding a basis for expecting anything better elsewhere. Farmers who reached this condition were likely to have become involved in a conflicted decision process over the issue of migration, which continued for years without resolution.

The social life of the farm neighbourhood tended to be recalled in an idealized version; farm life was pictured as one of lively social intercourse, frequent and informal exchange of visits with neighbours and relatives, generous sharing of work and community assistance for individuals in times of crisis. Participation in social organizations and community activities indicated that most of the respondents had been normally integrated with their communities, though about a third might be considered to have been socially isolated. Three-quarters had lived near relatives with whom they maintained social and helping relations. Moreover, there was a homogeneity of occupation, interests and experience which provided a basis for understanding and communication. Expectations based upon these primary group experiences tended to interfere with adjustment to the urban pattern of secondary group interaction.

The disintegration of farm communities associated with farm consolidation and the trend away from the small family farm had served frequently to undermine the traditional basis for rural social life. Some had become increasingly isolated from neighbours who could exchange assistance. Some could not continue without the assistance of sons who had migrated. Others had moved because local school units and churches had closed and there were no children in the age groups of their own. In many communities, the social system had become inadequate either to support the traditional pattern of rural life or to respond to more urbanized patterns.

Personal Characteristics of Migrants at the Time of Migration

Nearly 75 per cent had been born on a Saskatchewan farm, and most of these had grown up in the same area as the one in which they had farmed. Nearly all were the sons of farmers who had learned farming from their fathers. Most of them had enjoyed farming as a way of life and considered the farm the most desirable environment for family life. A great proportion, however, had conflicted attitudes toward farming as an occupation.

The respondents varied markedly in their previous mobility. About a third had never been away from their neighbourhoods for more than a day or so, a quarter had worked off the farm for short intervals during slack periods, and the remainder had been away for a minimum of one year.

When they migrated, they were considerably older as a group than the male labour force in Saskatoon. Only 22 per cent were under 35; the median age was 45 years. In addition to handicaps of age, nearly a quarter stated that poor health or crippling accidents had been a major reason for leaving the farm. There were also strong indications that the psychological effects of long exposure to poverty had reduced the ability of some to respond to the adjustment stresses of migration.

At the time of the move, most of the respondents had to support families which included children of pre-school, elementary or high-school age. The average family size was 4.5, somewhat higher than the average Saskatoon family of 3.6. Even for those at age 50, early retirement would have been impractical because of their family responsibilities.

There was a considerable range in the amount of cash assets obtained from the sale of their farms. Estimates of the cash left from sale of farm assets, after paying debts and the costs of moving, varied from nothing (in fact, they were in debt) to over $30,000. Forty-five per cent had less than $5,000. As will be noted below, a considerable number retained their farm assets as a security in case migration was a failure.

By urban standards of education and vocational training, the majority of migrants were at a disadvantage in competing for urban jobs. Sixty-two per cent had grade-school education or less, compared with 36 per cent of Saskatoon males. The median years of education completed was 7.6. Though two-thirds had worked at jobs outside agriculture, a third had had only unskilled jobs. Realistically, there was little reason to suppose that the group had good prospects for upward mobility in a city setting in view of their age, their low educational levels and their lack of experience and training for more highly paid urban jobs. There was also a tendency toward clustering of disabilities. If a man had one handicap, he was likely to have others.

The expectations of the migrants concerning their post-migration prospects had been not too unrealistic. Less than half had specific job prospects when they left the farm. Migration, consequently, had represented a decision of grave consequence involving high risks. The step was often taken in a family atmosphere of intense stress and uncertainty. Forty per cent had expected to do no better in the city than to subsist, and of these, many expected that even subsistence would require the utmost effort and willingness to undertake any kind of job or combination of jobs that could be found. In general the move from independent farm operator (no matter how impoverished) to city labourer had been regarded as a loss of status.

Migration Decision Process

For many, migration occurred not as a positive choice of a preferred way of life, but as a forced choice made necessary by the cumulative deficits of the farm situation. Though all the respondents had, in one sense, migrated voluntarily, about a fifth felt they had had no choice. Others felt they would be forced to leave sooner or later and preferred to move while the choice was still open. Though the economic pressures were of great importance in the decision to leave, social and psychological factors also played a part. A majority stated that the farm situation no longer provided an acceptable standard of living and they desired educational opportunities for children, sufficient security or achievement satisfaction, an adequate social milieu, etc. These factors affected the more prosperous as well as the poorer.

Migration from the farm to an urban environment involves more far-reaching dislocations of the whole family than is usually true when an urban wage earner moves to another location. Included are difficulties like property transactions, changes in physical setting, vocation, working conditions, relationship to work, status, and separation from a farm with which the family may have identified its interests for more than one generation, breaking away from family and friendship ties, uncertainties about the future, etc.

Apparently many of the respondents might have moved much sooner than they did, had they been able to see satisfactory alternatives and to solve problems involved in migration. Because of the number and seriousness of the changes that must

3

be made in moving from farm operator to city wage earner, and because of the uncertain and limited prospects in the city, the decision process preceding migration usually had extended over a considerable period of years and was frequently highly conflicted. From two to ten years of consideration and reconsideration were reported by about two-thirds. Somewhat less than a third had been involved in short-term decision processes of six months or less, usually resulting from some change in their farm or personal situation.

Formulation of some plan for a new life, if only a vague one, would appear to be essential before migration occurs. This planning must occur in the context of the choice of a new location. Sometimes this choice turns out to have been a poor one, which makes a further migration necessary. Before coming to Saskatoon, 19 per cent of the respondents had lived in one other place after leaving the farm, six per cent had lived in two other places, and four per cent had moved three or more times.

In choosing Saskatoon, the majority were selecting a place which would permit them to preserve social ties with friends and family, to find better opportunities for themselves or their children, and to find some extension of, or continuity with, their former farm lives. Only a minority chose the city because they liked one or more specific characteristic or facility found there. For 54 per cent, the choice of a new location was made in the contexts of both the desire to preserve continuities with farm life and the hopes for an improved situation. Twenty-seven per cent were solely concerned with minimizing their separation from the location and social community of the farm. The smallest group - 10 per cent - were entirely focused on the future and the prospects of desirable changes through migration.

Process of Adjustment to the Urban Environment

After migration, the process of adjustment extends over a considerable period as the migrant strives to make the changes in himself and in his situation. An early period of euphoria related to success in changing his physical location and in orienting to the city is often followed by a period of extended strain. Commonly, two years might pass before the family has achieved sufficient economic security to support other types of positive adjustment.

The evaluation of the decision to migrate may continue for years and may end in a return to the farm. In the group that was studied, about two in five had previously left the farm for periods of a year or more, but had been drawn back.

In leaving the farm, migrants appear to have allowed for their possible return. Nearly two in five had not sold their entire farm units until some time after leaving. Others had tried to combine urban employment with operation of the farm and had gone through transitional periods when their work roles were mixed. The development of acceptance of, and commitment to, urban living is related to a progressive detachment from farming and the rural way of life. Continuation of involvement in the conflicts and tensions of the former farm situation interferes seriously with urban adjustment. It may also be a symptom of unsatisfactory adjustment to the urban environment.

Difficulties in adjustment to city employment and occupations were by far the most common type of problem reported by three-quarters of the respondents. These difficulties included a fairly wide range of problems, but especially unemployment for varying periods and inadequate wages relative to the urban cost of living. Other problems, including dislike of working conditions in city jobs, feelings of lower status and non-achievement, dislike of the kind of work done, also hindered occupational adjustment.

In spite of their many handicaps in urban employment, the general picture was of a determined, hard-working, independent group. Little evidence could be found that these former farm operators had presented much of a social aid problem to the city. At the time of the interview, four per cent of the respondents were receiving social aid. Altogether, the families of nine respondents had received social aid since leaving the farm. Generally, ability to do a variety of jobs necessary to maintain a farm, character and personality assets, positive attitudes toward physical work, stable family situations, high motivation to achieve economic security and upward mobility, and satisfaction with the improvement in their children's educational opportunities seem to have made many of them more successful in adjusting to the urban environment than might have been predicted.

The group as a whole still appears to be a disadvantaged one within the city. Their unemployment rate at the time of the interview was nearly three times that of the Saskatoon labour force. More than half the men were employed in unskilled or primary occupations compared with nine per cent of Saskatoon adult males. Though their housing conditions were considerably better than on the farm, their average per capita income in 1965 was approximately 16 per cent lower than the average for Saskatoon in 1961. This was true in spite of the fact that 42 per cent of the wives were also working and contributing to the family income. Although job shifting was common, particularly during the first one or two years, the majority of these shifts were horizontal ones within the same level of occupation. Only 13 per cent reported upward occupational mobility, and they were balanced by 15 per cent who reported downward mobility. More than two-thirds were still in the same level of occupation as their first job after migration.

The National Employment Service had been of little help to these migrants in their permanent absorption into the labour force. Only 12 per cent considered application to the NES an effective way of obtaining satisfactory work. The information supplied by friends and relatives, and direct application to employers had been far more effective.

More than two out of five reported some additional training after migration. Four per cent had taken educational upgrading courses; 11 per cent had taken technical training courses; three per cent had taken courses in the university; and 17 per cent reported some on-the-job training. Many of those who had made no attempt to obtain training had low levels of elementary education, or none; others were uninformed about the opportunities; and still others felt they were too old.

Problems related to social integration were reported by nearly four out of five respondents. Unfavourable reactions to the greater density of population and difficulties related to the shift from rural to urban patterns of social interaction were among the more common. Family problems related to factors like shifts in work and parental roles, break-up of the family as a working unit, value conflicts between parents and children also were reported by a high proportion. Wives and children sometimes made poorer adjustments to the shift than husbands. When this occurred, it interfered with the adjustment of the male head.

Nearly half the respondents, reporting difficulties in adjusting to the physical setting of the city, complained about the lack of outdoor life and fresh air and water, the noise of the city, and the confusion and dangers of traffic. Preferences of these prairie farmers for outside work, large areas of living space and open sky were so strong as to interfere with employment and personal adjustment in the city.

Psychological stress symptoms were spontaneously reported by six in ten. The data suggest that these might result from the pre-migration stress, the grief of separation from the farm and the stresses of post-migration adjustment.

Time alone did not appear to produce a greater or more positive acceptance of the city way of life. The proportion of those who had lived in an urban area for over five years and had positive attitudes toward city living was no greater than those who had lived in an urban centre for under two years. What happens to the attitudes and expectations of migrants in the city , for better or worse, appears to be a function of their experiences in the city as they relate to their expectations and goals.

Current State of Adjustment

Among the respondents was found a variety of patterns of adjustment to the urban environment, depending on their pre-migration experiences and expectations, their characteristics and resources at the time of migration, and their post-migration experiences. Some had unquestionably improved their life situations through urban migration; others were equally or more unsuccessful and more unhappy than they had been on the farm.

Defining adjustment as a condition of the whole man, including his economic, social, environmental, and personal adjustments, a multi-variable index to urban adjustment was developed. On the basis of this index, about a third of the respondents could be classified as having an *Integrated* type of adjustment, characterized by a secure economic situation, social participation, positive acceptance of the urban environment, and an active, creative, personal adjustment.

At the opposite end of the scale were to be found about a third who could be classified as *Isolated.* These were in one or more respects seriously maladjusted in the urban environment. They included those who were economically dependent or unable to provide an adequate standard of living for their families, poorly adjusted to the physical setting or social milieu of the city, and in some cases personally disorganized, unhappy or exhibiting signs of serious psychological stresses.

Between these two extremes was to be found a middle group, designated as *Accommodating*. The latter could be described as having at least minimal economic security, a more or less workable balance between their wants, expectations and aspirations, and the circumstances of their lives, and a usually passive, affiliative pattern of personal adjustment.

Some improvement in adjustment appears likely to occur during the first two years after migration. The poorly adjusted proportion among those who had been in the city five years or more was not much smaller than among those who had been in the city from two to five years. The "natural process of adjustment", without any special services to aid assimilation, failed to provide a basis for acceptable adjustment to the urban environment for about a third of the respondents, even five or more years after leaving the farm. Younger men in the group were no more likely to show improvement with time than older men and, in fact, appeared to do less well than the middle-aged men who were interviewed.

Turning from the concept of general adjustment to the more limited one of economic adjustment, 39 per cent of the families who had been in the city under two years, 24 per cent of those who had migrated two to five years earlier, and 9 per cent of those who had left five or more years before, had annual incomes of less than $3,000 a year. For families averaging 4.5 members, the level of poverty would begin considerably above $3,000 in Saskatoon.

Prediction of Urban Adjustment before Migration

A number of pre-migration characteristics were found to be related to post-migration adjustment.

1. Those who had had no previous full-time non-agricultural jobs were more likely to be found in the Isolated Group.
2. Men who had never been off the farm for more than a few days were more likely to be Isolated than those who had previously spent even a few months away. Those who had

previously attempted to migrate for periods of a year or more, and had returned, were less likely to make good urban adjustments than those who had been away only for summer or winter months.

3. Those whose attitudes toward farm life were negative were more likely to be Integrated than those who still had positive attitudes or those who were conflicted.
4. The type of decision process which preceded migration was also significantly related to the kind of general urban adjustment that was achieved. Those who had experienced long-term, high-conflict decisions about leaving were much more likely to adjust poorly to the city than those who had experienced short-term low-conflict decisions.
5. Also, those who considered the choice of a new location from many points of view and those who picked Saskatoon because they liked it for specific reasons were more likely to make a good adjustment.
6. A stable, supportive family structure also appears to have facilitated good adjustment during the period of transition.
7. Regardless of the level of earnings, those whose post-migration earnings exceeded their pre-migration expectations were more likely to be in the Integrating Group, while those whose expectations were disappointed were more likely to be in the Isolated Group.

Some of the factors not significantly related to urban adjustment in this small sample are: age at migration, degree of specialization in non-agricultural work, size and economic status of the former farm, the type of farm operation, the number of amenities in the farm home, the frequency of contacts with relatives and neighbours in the farm community, the number of memberships in formal organizations in the farm community, church membership or religious affiliation, and the reason for leaving the farm.

None of the relationships between pre-migration characteristics and post-migration adjustment that were discovered were in themselves sufficiently discriminating to predict adjustment with satisfactory accuracy. A feasibility experiment on the possibilities of combining a number of items into an index with higher predictive power was, therefore, undertaken. A Predictive Index which yielded a contingency coefficient of correlation with the Index of General Urban Adjustment of +.55 was developed. It would, therefore, appear to be feasible to construct a Predictive Index which would identify with fair accuracy, before migration, those who would achieve integrating adjustments to the urban environment and those who would remain isolated even after years in the city.

APPENDIX I

AUTHOR'S COMMENTS

NOTE 1

Context of the Research

No data directly bearing on this point are available from the 1961 Census of Canada. Ronald and Deborah Freedman (1956), report that about a third of the non-farm population in the United States in 1952 were farm reared. An estimate made by the Centre for Community Studies indicated that in 1961 about half the non-agricultural labour force in Saskatchewan over 25 years of age were farm reared.

NOTE 2

Interplay of Economic, Social and Personal Factors

Guy Routh in summarizing research on pushes and pulls resulting in mobility, quotes Herbert S. Paines to the effect that "to a considerable extent even workers who voluntarily change jobs are not really attracted by desirable jobs elsewhere so much as they are 'pushed out' of jobs that they find unsatisfactory, and there is no assurance that they subsequently will find jobs better than the ones they leave" (Routh 1964). This seems true of the majority of respondents in the present study.

NOTE 3

Distance from Services

For farm families the degrees and kinds of isolation found in the farm situation must be related to the life cycle of the farm family. Characteristically their tolerance of isolation diminishes as the family grows older. The need to provide educational opportunities for children often stimulates mobility when the oldest child is ready for high school or university. In other families, poor health and the need for frequent treatment of family members with advancing age may compel the family to move closer to the medical services provided in urban centres.

For all farm families, isolation becomes more threatening as farm populations dwindle and farm communities disintegrate. In the harsh prairie climate isolation becomes not only a source of social deprivation, but a physical threat, exemplified by the fear of dying as the result of being stuck on an isolated road in winter. Disintegration of rural communities also removes many of the satisfactions of rural community life which previously helped to compensate for lower economic returns. In many areas the social activities formerly centred around churches and local schools have disappeared as the people have become too few to support them.

NOTE 4

Dictated Nature of Work Operations

In performing his work, the farmer is guided by relatively clear-cut directives established by local practice and his own repetitive experiences. The low-income farmer has little choice. The submarginal farm is one on which there is little or no tolerance for failure on a short-term basis, and where there is a correspondingly high risk of failure. Maintenance of the farm unit becomes the single urgent goal of the submarginal farmer; his lines of action are dictated largely by pre-emptive, short-term demands and limited resources. Long-term planning becomes meaningless because he is continually making *ad hoc* adjustments to immediate crises. Improved methods and new technologies designed to expand operations have little relevance or economic utility in his situation because of his limited resources and the low returns from unproductive land. Goals for expansion are unrealistic because the potential of the land is often low, and his debts and backlog of needs quickly swallow any surplus. Moreover, the high price of productive farm land and the unavailability of credit to farmers with low capital assets put the expansion of his acreage beyond his means.

NOTE 5

The Farmer's Sense of Independence

The farmer's sense of independence in a situation that allows him virtually no choice is of both theoretical and practical importance, because it throws light on essential differences between his on- and off-farm work and his difficulties in adjustment after migrating. Why do many of them subjectively experience the farm as freedom and expansion and find the city, which offers so many choices, as confining and constraining? A number of hypotheses may be suggested. In general, subjective freedom is not dependent either on the individual's criteria alone or on the parameters of the situation, but on the relation between the two. The reduction of criteria to a single, clear-cut directive, matched by a single line of action, eliminates any conflict from the performance of work roles. If more choices existed, they would tend to inhibit each other and to multiply criteria as the farmer tried to find a rational basis for choice.

Though the farmer's behaviour is largely dictated by pre-emptive demands, these demands are provided by the *situation*, not by other people. Since the situation is one which is closely identified with the farmer's interests and welfare, he feels that the demands originate in his own self. Furthermore, the repetitive, custom-defined operations he performs do not produce monotony or boredom. Alertness and specialized knowledge are required by the changing, though repetitive, cycle of the crop year, with its accompanying and unpredictable variations in weather and other natural conditions. The need to identify the changing situation and the appropriate responses to it gives him a sense of constant adaptation in a survival game, making farming an interesting and challenging occupation. For the more prosperous farmer there is the additional interest of being able to experiment with life processes.

In this situation, the low-income farmer particularly has no manoeuvrability for gaining successes or countering crises, except by (a) varying his labour input and (b) varying his consumption. In view of this, self-denial, work addiction and refusal to admit weakness or defeat become his main weapons in the fight for survival. If the farm chores should pall, his conquest of himself does not, until his strength - mental or physical - fails him. Thus he derives a feeling of self-determination from the continual exercise of willpower in going against the grain.

NOTE 6

Social Environment

The spatial separation of Saskatchewan farms, seldom less than half a mile between neighbours, and often much more, together with the relatively low standard of living, provide scope for individual operation and freedom from social restraint. Neighbours are not a constant reference for standards of dress, care of the house and grounds, or methods of rearing and disciplining children, as they are in the city, where their houses are within constant sight and sound of one another.

NOTE 7

The contrast between urban social relations and farm customs has provided a basis for serious adjustment problems. An analysis of the social interaction in these two environments has, therefore, both practical and theoretical significance.

In rural Saskatchewan society the members have reciprocal roles, each with a matched set of expectations and commitments. According to a classification of social interaction systems, this social system may be called an "authority model" (Abramson and Abramson 1964). People in a farm community learn the appropriate forms of social behaviour for a relatively small number of situations and perform these in a relatively unvarying way. For example, no one is regarded as having a choice of participating or not in a work party when asked or when the occasion arises. But assistance with money loans is generally ruled out as an expected or accepted form of social interaction. Though there is little or no freedom for individualism, the interaction of these roles produces an apparent simplicity and generosity in social relations, and provides a security that is missing in urban society.

In the city the population is denser, and more diversified and stratified, standards vary according to the situation, the kinds of situations in which people interact with one another are much more numerous, and the same individual performs the multiple role of worker, parent and citizen, as well as others. Here the farm-reared person is often lost in complexities which he cannot understand or handle (Whyte 1966).

The spatial separation of farms also helps to enhance the value of social interaction. There is no need to protect oneself from the unwanted observation or interference of neighbours, as in city neighbourhoods, and no constant pressure to compete or conform. Thus social interaction in farm neighbourhoods is sought and welcomed, and it is characterized by a sense of closeness and lack of restraint or formality. The coldness, formality and contrived social interaction of the city were often reported to be a disturbing aspect of adjustment to urban conditions.

Formerly the presence of friendly and co-operative neighbours in farm neighbourhoods had important economic and social functions which were essential to the survival of both individuals and the community. Though the frequency and importance of work sharing have diminished with the mechanization of farms, it still exists as a tradition that is revived when necessary. Also, local school units and churches, which earlier provided both the means and the need for social interaction, are disappearing. Community picnics and socials are becoming infrequent and poorly attended now that people can travel easily to larger population centres for their amusements. Television in the home is also said to reduce the need to seek other kinds of entertainment.

NOTE 8

Undoubtedly, the social disintegration of rural communities helps to stimulate migration. Low-income farmers who used to feel that they were essential, contributing members of a growing community no longer have this satisfaction. They have also lost the sense of security provided by the former patterns of mutual help in rural neighbourhoods. More and more, both fun and social satisfaction have gone out of farm life, leaving little but the grind of daily grubbing for unsatisfactory rewards.

NOTE 9

Social and Economic Changes

Economic changes in agricultural practice are producing profound social changes in the rural community. Formerly, farming was a distinctive way of life sharply separated from the urban life in its values, goals and expectations. Farming is now a type of business and the farmer has come to occupy a middle position in urban-centred enterprises. Rural society is becoming absorbed into an emerging urban-industrial society. In this changing situation it is increasingly difficult for the small family farm to survive.

As the small farmers move out and the nature of the rural community changes, those who are left find themselves to be the survivors in a crumbling world. Sons and daughters are leaving the farms to seek better economic futures. In addition to the strictly social effects noted in the preceding section, there is the shift of business from the village to the larger urban trade centres, where the farmer must conduct his business with impersonal branches of large organizations, rather than with friends who knew and adjusted to his circumstances.

In an effort to compensate for growing farm deficits, many farmers have had to seek off-farm employment which creates a further need for change in farm operations. Off-farm work also introduces a conflict of interests which eventually may alienate the farmer from his farm.

Inadequate Social Systems

For adequate adjustment to social change, the structure of the social system must allow for constant and efficient solving of new problems and for the ability to innovate and to incorporate successful innovations into practice. Again referring to the Abramson classification, the appropriate social model might be designated as a "power model" in which the goal is the accumulation of lines of action for an ever-receding goal of expanding achievement (Abramson, Cutter, Kautz and

Mendelson 1958). In this model, individual members or groups perceive each other as competitors for available lines of action that lead to goal achievement, and try through strategic action to eliminate this competition. This may be done if other individuals are viewed in an impersonal way, either as barriers to achievement or as a means of reaching a goal. Such a strategic operation is helped by reducing the criteria to those essential for efficiency and maximum production. The larger society, which reduces the evaluation of low-income farm areas to indices of income and production, exemplifies such a reduction of criteria. The policy of farm consolidation in which the goal is the redistribution of land to the more successful and efficient farmers is an example of treating unsuccessful farmers as barriers to economic goals and proceeding to eliminate them.

The relevant social systems of the traditional farm community are essentially antipathetic to the "power model". In the world of the family farm, though commercial farming increasingly conforms to the "power model", the two social systems of the greatest importance are the farm family and the farm community. These two systems fit best into the "authority model", where the overriding aim is maintenance of the existing order, and other individuals are not regarded as competitors or as a means of achieving goals. They are the essential performers of reciprocal roles in a tightly interlocking system of expectations and commitments. If other individuals are eliminated, the farm resident has no source for the fulfilment of his expectations, his own functions lose their significance and the whole system of social relations disintegrates.

The application of this process can be seen readily in the farm family. Low returns from the farm are of relatively little psychological significance as long as the farmer is achieving his own goal of maintaining a role that can be passed to his son. When the son leaves to seek employment in a city, the farmer is not only deprived of a reciprocal, supporting role, but his life achievement loses its significance (Grove [1965]). The value placed upon family solidarity, which has a positive function in the maintenance of the farm, now becomes a source of alienation from the farm which may persuade the rest of the family to migrate. Similarly, in the rural community, the "authority model", involving the repetitive performance of reciprocal roles designed to maintain the *status quo*, breaks down with the disappearance of the performers of these roles. Expectations and goals appropriate to the "authority model" also are a source of conflict and resistance to new forms of social organization along the lines of the "power model". Rural development councils, for example, are likely to meet frustration when their controlling members are selected from indigenous representatives of the "authority model".

In summary, the social goals of maintenance and of expanding production require different models of social interaction which are essentially opposed to each other. Since the goals of rural development as embodied in ARDA programs are related to expanding production and social change, while the representative pattern of many rural areas is an "authority model" devoted to maintenance, the implications of this analysis for rural development are far-reaching.

Effect of the Larger Society

The ways of the larger society enter into the farm situation through the mass media, government representatives and contact with local innovators who have absorbed the values of urban-industrial society. This also occurs through contact with former members of the rural community who have migrated to urban areas. Under the increasing influence of the larger society, the distinction between the values, standards of living and spatial separation of rural and urban residents is breaking down. As the ideal norm of rural life, preserved by small farmers, becomes more removed from the actual norm, the social gap between the low-income farmer and the rest of the rural community becomes more noticeable. Also, the low-income farmer's interaction with the innovating members of the community decreases, limiting his exposure to new ideas and improved farm practices, and freezing him in his disadvantaged position (Leuthold 1964).

The resultant cross-pressures arising pose difficulties for the low income farmer. His attempts to apply changing norms and recommended practices to his farm situation are unlikely to meet with success in the absence of adequate resources. The resulting frustration tends to alienate the farmer from his farm and his way of life. However, his lack of qualifications for adapting to the urban-industrial society raises high barriers to migration. Often he cannot sell his submarginal farm to acquire enough capital for payment of his debts or for the cost of moving his family and supporting himself through an initial period of unemployment. The seriousness of the conflicts that are produced in this way and their unresolvable nature may lead eventually to some form of breakdown for the farmer.

NOTE 10

Individual and Group Differences

In seeking to group migrants in the hope of finding fruitful generalizations about the processes of migration and adjustment, the significance of distinct minority types who require entirely different kinds of rehabilitation should not be overlooked. The problem may be summarized as follows:

1. Though no two individuals are identical, the concept of qualitatively different type groups is a useful one for action programs.
2. Human development programs which attempt to deal only with the majority type are likely to neglect a large portion of the job that needs to be done.
3. On the other hand, the adjustment of government programs to the level of individual cases is frequently inefficient and impractical.
4. The identification of a number of types for which appropriate human development programs can be devised is, therefore, a more comprehensive and efficient approach than either the majority or the case approach.

NOTE 11

Health

Many aspects of the farm situation contribute to the farmer's psychological insecurity and undermine his ability to cope with intense cross-pressures. A Canadian study shows that the prevalence of psychiatric disorder in rural populations does not differ markedly from that of city dwellers: "Only 17 per cent of the adult rural inhabitants were found free of all psychiatric symptoms, while about 32 per cent of the rest showed significant but mostly mild impairment." (Leighton, Harding and Hughes 1963). However, these findings should be evaluated in the light of unequal opportunities for treatment in rural areas (Canadian Welfare Council 1965a).

NOTE 12

During the long winters, when the farm family may be largely isolated from others for weeks or months at a time, with nothing but a radio and each other's company, there is too much time for worrying. Special times of stress appear to occur when the solidarity of the farm family is either threatened or broken. When a grown son leaves, the farmer may be left with no one to share the work and with the realization that his enduring efforts to maintain the farm are meaningless. The farm wife also is deprived of a significant part of her reason for being when grown children depart.

As rural communities disintegrate, farm people may suffer from loss of supporting social systems. Moreover, many of them may realize their inability to adapt to changing agricultural practices which in turn increases their isolation from the achieving farmers of the area. In addition, susceptibility to illness, accident and depression are probably increased among the more disadvantaged members of the group by the physical exhaustion of trying to compensate for poor physical resources by means of increased labour inputs.

NOTE 13

Clustering of Disadvantages

The identification of types of migrants for programming purposes is facilitated by the clustering of disadvantages. A farmer who is migrating to the city may be disadvantaged in a number of ways; e.g., by his age, inadequate education, lack of job experience, poor health, inability to adjust to the loss of his farm, lack of urban social skills, etc.

The tendency toward clustering of multiple disadvantages in particular individuals has the effect of producing qualitatively different types among migrants, who do not represent simply different amounts of disadvantage along any particular continuum. From a programming standpoint, this suggests the need for *unequal* amounts of investment in human development in order to provide *comparable* opportunities. In some ways this principle seems almost the opposite of the present criteria for human development programs, which seem to concentrate on making the maximum use of scarce resources. The most obvious short-term achievements can be exhibited by investing in those with the most easily overcome disadvantages, and by relegating the most disadvantaged group to positions which are, in effect, outside the functioning society. Proposals for early retirement of men "who are not qualified for training and re-establishment" exemplify the latter policy (Canada. Department of Forestry 1965).

S.M. Miller points to the fact that in the treatment of mental illness "the distribution of available resources is socially discriminatory" and that the correction of the imbalance will take more than money - in fact a change in the attitudes of those who control treatment (Miller 1963, Reissman, Cohen and Pearl 1964).

NOTE 14

Decision Process

The meaning of migration from farm to city for the low-income farmer often goes far beyond any question of a free choice among economic alternatives that have clearly rateable advantages and disadvantages. It involves balancing the known against the unknown; making a choice between two different paths, neither of which may promise a clear advantage with respect to security, financial reward or achievement. It involves trading the status and minimal security of landowner and independent proprietor of an enterprise, which may be marginal at best, for the lower status, more insecure, but perhaps higher paid position of city blue-collar worker. It also involves a complicated and perhaps long drawn-out process of removing many stubborn barriers to migration, like:

(1) accumulating from low cash earnings enough to make the move and to maintain the family during a period of unemployment;

(2) paying off back taxes and debts in the locale they are leaving;

(3) finding a buyer for a farm which may be small or unproductive, and for used machinery;

(4) managing the complicated business transactions involved in the transfer of property.

Migration to the city also means relinquishing a chosen vocation and life goals to which many years of the farm couple's life, and perhaps their parents' lives, have been committed. The transfer from farm to city, therefore, involves more far-reaching results and dislocations of the whole family than is usually true when an urban wage earner moves to another location.

NOTE 15

Before migration can occur, the farmer must decide that the move from the farm offers a better chance for the family's future. This decision must be given substance through the formulation of a plan for supporting himself and his family in the city. Then he must find a way of removing or lowering the barriers which keep him on the farm. Finally, he must choose from among the various alternatives some specific new location.

Interviews with respondents indicated that, for many, migration would have occurred earlier had they been able to accomplish these steps more quickly and effectively. One may suppose from this that there may be a great number of low-income farm families in northern Saskatchewan currently struggling with these problems, and who are prevented from migrating for this reason. An understanding of the migration decision process will have great utility in developing effective criteria for the guidance of manpower mobility programs.

NOTE 16

Nature of the Decision Process

The decision process is *interactive* and *developing*, involving the farmer's repeated attempts to work out an acceptable position between his values, wants and goals and the means that are available to him. Preliminary data suggest that the following phases in the decision process occur with some regularity:

(1) recognition that the farm fails to satisfy the family's wants and probably will continue to do so if the situation is not changed;

(2) attempts at farm reorganization;

(3) a search for reinforcements from external sources;

(4) exploration of off-farm alternatives;

(5) rejection of the farm, at least in a temporary sense, in favour of other alternatives;

(6) reconciliation of any family differences;

(7) liquidation of farm assets;

(8) choosing among off-farm alternatives;

(9) arranging for the physical transfer of family and possessions to a new location.

Not all migrants go through all of these phases, nor do the phases always occur in the sequence given above.

After migration, the decision process is likely to continue with a re-evaluation of its wisdom in view of the economic gains or losses experienced, changes in the migrant's image of himself, and the adjustment of values to those prevailing in the city.

All of these forms of exploratory behaviour involve the repeated interaction of the farmer with his situation, in the course of which both the situation and the farmer undergo changes. Each step in the decision process occurs in a context that differs from earlier ones because of the previous steps he has taken. An outstanding example of this is the effect on the farmer and his farm operation of his undertaking off-farm work. Other members of the farm family are also affected when the head of the family goes off the farm to seek additional income. Family relations and responsibilities change, work loads must be shifted, types of farm operation are adapted to the reduction in labour inputs, changes occur in family standards and attitudes, etc.

Most often, *more than one individual* is involved in the decision process. All members of the family are profoundly affected by the decision and have a large stake in it. The attitude of the wife and her ability to accept the possibility of migration is, therefore, of great importance. In addition, the family may be concerned about earlier agreements relating to land tenure, the support of an aged parent or other dependent, the security of the family and the break in family ties. Neighbours and other members of the farm community may exert direct or indirect influence on the decision. The loss of a neighbour in a dwindling farm community has an increasing impact on the remaining residents in many ways. Sometimes even one family may make a difference in the maintenance of a local school or church.

Because the farmer's decision process is so complicated and serious, and because the context of the decision is constantly changing as the farmer and his situation interact, much objective *time* is likely to be consumed by the process. Candidates for migration from the farm may be conceived as moving through time to a point of departure from the farm. However, a distinction should be made between *objective* time as measured by clocks and calendars, and *subjective* time as experienced by the farmer. Subjectively, he may be very near to the point of decision to migrate while, objectively, much time may still be consumed in finding the means to do so. Furthermore, he may not move always in the direction of migration. Difficulties that are too hard to handle, the encouragement provided by a good crop, or other changes in his situation may reverse the process or block it for long periods.

NOTE 17

The evaluation of the relative advantages of farm and urban life continues after migration. Therefore, manpower and mobility programs must be concerned not only with promoting migration but also with ensuring that it is successful migration. The provision of expert farm management counselling before migration might help to speed up the resolution of doubts about the capability of farm units, thus producing information about training and job opportunities and by helping families to make realistic plans for city living. Also, help in obtaining the kind of living conditions and jobs in cities that would give greater satisfaction after migration would probably prevent the development of acute nostalgia for farm life.

NOTE 18

Employment Expectations in the City

Confidence in migration could best be increased by providing practical opportunities for educational upgrading and vocational training, which would in turn provide employment opportunities and compensations. At present, in Saskatchewan, there are technical training institutes only at Saskatoon and Moose Jaw, and upgrading courses are held in the larger urban centres. Perhaps more families in areas of low opportunity would migrate earlier if training were available to them before they cut themselves loose from farm environments where they have a minimal security.

The recent success of the Gaspé (Quebec) effort in encouraging thousands of people in the region to take additional grades of school should be examined for its relevance.

In view of the importance of women in the decision process, and the subsequent employment of many in urban occupations, special efforts should be made to include them, as well as the men, in educational programs.

NOTE 19

Implications for Manpower Adjustment

The highly conflicted nature of the decision process is a response to the realities of the situation. In view of their subsequent inability to adjust economically, socially or psychologically to the urban milieu, some of the respondents would probably have been better off if a way could have been found for them to remain on their farms in their own communities. Pre-migration assessment of both the farmer and his farm could probably identify a majority of those destined to fail in the city. Programs of on-farm adjustment, like access to more land, credit, management assistance, herd improvement, improved housing, etc., should be considered as better alternatives for some farm families than migration to the city.

In dealing with those farm families who would be likely to improve their situations in time through migration to the city, a knowledge of the nature of their decision process is essential. The efficiency and ultimate success of programs aimed at inducing migration from rural areas will depend on the extent to which they facilitate or short-circuit the decision process. Moreover, the nature and duration of the decision process appears to be related to the subsequent adjustment of the migrant to an urban environment. This analysis suggests several types of intervention in the decision process.

1. *The decision process could be made more conclusive and less lengthy by counselling the farmer on his farm's capability.* Many things conspire to make the small farmer uncertain of the wisdom of staying on the farm. These include the tremendous variation in farm income from year to year on the prairie, the rising prices of

farm land, his lack of a good cost accounting system, the tremendous competition for productive land, his gambling psychology, etc. If these areas of uncertainty could be dispelled by providing a farm management consultant service he would have a better basis for a final decision.

2. *Assistance in closing out the farm operation would release men from the farm more quickly and less harmfully.* Probably the smaller and less productive the farm unit, the more difficult it is for the farmer to leave it. A buyer must be found for the land, and machinery and livestock must be sold. Even when there is a willing buyer, he may not have the cash or be a good credit risk. Often it takes a farmer a couple of years to get out of farming once he has decided he wants to. By acting as a purchasing agent, the government could help to eliminate such barriers to migration.
3. *Willingness to consider migration can be encouraged by urbanizing the farm family's criteria for a good life and by making them feel that such a life is appropriate for them.* The way to urbanize their criteria that has the best chance of success is probably through successful experience. Part-time or temporary employment in urban areas seems to be related to the introduction of new values and goals, as well as to new skills and confidence. Willingness to migrate may be encouraged also through visiting in urban centres and getting to know urban people, courses in home economics for farm wives, exchanges between rural and urban churches and exchanges of children, visits by the family to the new job location and assistance in drawing up a practical plan for city life.
4. *Training in skills which would qualify farm people for urban employment should be offered at convenient centres.* Basic improvement of rural education down to the elementary level is implied here, as well as vocational training for jobs that offer a clear advantage over farming. If low-income farm people felt as well-equipped for urban occupations as they did for farming, they would hesitate less and would have more confidence in the probability that the city would offer them a better life. There must be a practical way to support the family without hardship, and training must lead to real opportunities for employment. Wives should be encouraged also to train for urban occupations.
5. *Counselling on the choice of a new location would help to prevent mistakes that are based on ignorance of the distribution of employment.* Migrating farmers should be directed to cities where their skills are in demand.

> They should be warned against buying property and settling in nearby villages or towns, unless there is work there for them. Where possible, they should be encouraged to migrate to a city where they have relatives or friends.

These suggestions present some of the obvious possibilities for intervention in the decision process. Specific programs could be devised from a more thorough study of the decision-making process.

NOTE 20

Adjustment to Urban Milieu

Since adjustment is an on-going process, evaluation of the condition or level of adjustment at a particular time must be interpreted in the light of the nature and direction of the changes that are taking place, as well as in terms of the objectives of the society. A condition of maladjustment between the individual and his milieu at some stage in the migration process, as evidenced by strain and unhappiness, may be more "normal" and even more socially desirable than a condition of acceptance and resignation. For example, farmers in submarginal areas must become maladjusted or alienated from their farm environments before they are likely to move out of them. Similarly, a phase of maladjustment may be expected during a period after migration as an inescapable condition of integration into the new social milieu (Malzberg and Lee 1956).

NOTE 21

A state of adjustment, described as a workable fit between the individual's wants and the lines of action available to him in his milieu, is neither good nor bad in itself. From the society's standpoint, there may be circumstances in which a lack of fit may be preferable to a good fit, the definition of "good" depending on the normal concept generally adopted in the society. Therefore, in developing an index of adjustment for rural immigrants, it is necessary to ask what are the socially approved functions of their migration.

Migration is considered as a shift from one set of social systems to another, with the object of integration with the larger society.[1] This integration involves the whole person, not simply the economic behaviour of the migrant. It is revealed in a variety of ways, such as sharing the opportunities for normal consumption, participating in group and community activities, having a harmonious relationship to the urban environment, and interacting with the social milieu in a way that realizes the values of society while permitting the development and fulfilment of the individual. In relation to the human development goals of ARDA, adjustment in the sense of integration must be assessed through multiple factors embracing the economic, social and psychological aspects.

---

[1] This orientation was adopted because it seemed to have the most relevance to the objectives of government rural development and manpower adjustment programs.

NOTE 22

Successful integration into urban society usually means a gradual and sometimes unhappy alienation from the social systems of the former rural milieu. Merton and Kitt describe these related processes of integration and alienation as follows:

> What is anticipatory socialization from the standpoint of the individual is construed as defection and nonconformity by the group of which he is a member. To the degree that the individual identifies himself with another group, he alienates himself from his own group ... Once initiated, this process seems to move toward a cumulative detachment from the group, in terms of attitudes and values as well as in terms of social relations. And to the degree that he orients himself toward out-group values ... he only widens and reinforces the hostility between himself and his in-group associates. Through the interplay of dissociation and progressive alienation from the group values, he may become doubly motivated to orient himself toward the values of another group and to affiliate himself with it. There then remains the distinct question of the objective possibility of affiliating himself with his (new) reference group. If the possibility is negligible or absent, then the alienated individual becomes socially rootless. But if the social system realistically allows for such change in group affiliations, then the individual estranged from the one group has all the more motivation to belong to the other ... (Merton and Kitt 1953).

Finally, adjustment is a concept which deals with the individual's interaction with his physical, social and internal environments. It would, therefore, be a mistake to speak of the adjustment of rural migrants as if they were all similar. Adjustment must be evaluated on an individual basis and must be related to the individual's values, expectations and criteria. In fact, rural migrants differ widely in their responses to the change from the farm environment to an urban one, just as they differed widely in their pre-migration characteristics.

This is not to say that individuals cannot be classified into a number of types, exhibiting different patterns of adjustment that have different implications for human development programs.

Though the rural migrant is not the only person who must go through a period of adjustment to new jobs and a new social setting, the urban migrant usually has several advantages over him. The urban migrant is likely to be more highly trained for urban jobs, his job in a new location is more likely to have been arranged in advance, or to result from a transfer, he is more likely to have made at least one other move of some distance, and he does not have to become urbanized.

Clearly, assistance in adjustment to employment in the city is one of the most essential kinds of rehabilitation services that should be provided for rural migrants.

NOTE 23

Social Integration

Migration is a transfer from one set of social systems to another, requiring both integration into a new reference group and separation from the old one. The desire to find a bridge between the urban social system and the rural plays a part in the selection of a city where the migrant has friends and relatives. The extended kinship group appears to provide a line of communication between rural and urban areas and to direct migrants to places where the kinship group is established and could help the newcomers (Brown, Schwarzweller and Mangalam 1963).

Other research also has indicated that the adjustment of migrants is aided by members of the extended family, who have preceded them to the reception areas, and also by association in the city with others who have similar background (Schwarzweller and Seggar 1961, Weinberg 1961). Respondents in the present study described how relatives and friends helped in many practical ways, often by housing them and then helping them to find suitable housing of their own, by directing them to suitable job openings, and sometimes by lending them money to help them get established. No doubt migrants who had social contacts in the city learned more quickly the city norms of dress, behaviour and entertaining, obtained information concerning consumption and purchasing, and broadened their acquaintance with the city.

NOTE 24

Interaction in the farm community occurs face-to-face within a primary group, where individuals are known in a variety of contexts as whole people, and every member of the community shares a common set of values, experiences and goals. In the city the social relationship is with a secondary group. The farm migrant may seldom see his urban neighbours, or may not even know them. His relations with people in the city may depend on specialized occupational or other roles. Socio-economic class distinctions tend to discourage the free social interaction to which he has been accustomed.

The busy-ness of city life, the regular hours, the separation of work life from private life, the diversity of occupations, the class stratification and the relative formality of social contacts are difficult for the farm-reared person to handle. Even his kin and friends from the country are likely to have patterned their associations on urban models, so that intensive and frequent visiting like that in the country is not possible. Moreover, the migrant finds that his work schedules interfere with his ideas of friendly intercourse.

NOTE 25

Some evidence from other studies indicates that farm-rearing produces personality structures that are not well adapted to competitive urban occupations and to the density and diversification of urban society. A study comparing 17-year-old farm-reared boys with urban boys of the same age, indicated that the farm boys were significantly more submissive, shy and withdrawn, depressive and lacking in nervous tension (Haller and Wolff 1963). Moreover, they had less belief that man could control events. Haller and Wolff suggest that in an urban industrial society two broad factors affect the farm-reared individual in his personal adjustment and social relations:

(1) the differentiated and stratified occupational structure;

(2) the dense and diversified population found in urban areas.

Haller and Wolff conclude that " ... it is the urban boys who have orientations that are functionally adaptive to the urban occupational structure. Specifically, the urban boys are highest in intelligence, independent self-sufficiency, positive evaluation of physical mobility, belief in the internal determination of events, and occupational and college aspiration levels ... it is again the urban boys who appear to have the orientations which are functionally adaptive to the contact of dense and diversified urban populations. Specifically, the urban boys are highest in dominance, surgency and placid self-confidence; and, though lower than the village boys, they score higher than farm boys on adventurous autonomic resilience."

NOTE 26

The findings of the present study suggest the need for human development services which will ease the problems of social adjustment and speed integration. Family counselling services, classes for teaching wives consumer skills and home-making methods adapted to city standards, friendship centres for migrants, programs of voluntary church and other groups aimed at helping newcomers to adjust quickly, special recognition of school adjustment problems of farm-reared children, a detection and referral system for migrants who show symptoms of undue stress and depression - all these would be of considerable value in facilitating the adjustment of rural migrants. There is a need in these programs for special recognition of the problems of the young and the old. Both age groups seem to experience more difficulty in adjustment than middle-aged people do. Since migration to the city at some stage of the life cycle has become a common experience for farm-reared people, perhaps there is a role to be played here by farm organizations in preparing their members for successful migration.

NOTE 27

In adjustment to the physical setting, counselling on leisure-time activities might help to alleviate the yearning of migrant families for open spaces and outdoor activity. On the farm, many of them seem hardly to have grasped the idea of "recreation" let alone to have practised it. But, in the city, the problem of finding things to do in their unaccustomed leisure time is sometimes a serious one. Many seem to lack knowledge of parks and picnic areas. Introduction to hobby and interest groups, and membership in sports groups, are possible ways of helping rural migrants to adjust to the physical setting of the city.

NOTE 28

Prediction of Urban Adjustment

Fairly accurate predictions of the possibilities of good urban adjustment before the farm families move to the city would undoubtedly help in the design of programs for assisting rural manpower adjustment. For this reason a predictive index to urban adjustment was constructed from information obtained in interviews - information which could have been obtained before the families migrated.

If further research in this area could follow a group of migrants from the pre-migration period through the first two years after migration to a city, there would be great possibilities for better understanding of the factors that affect migration. This, in turn, would provide the basis for a more refined prediction index, which would be employed in evaluating the effectiveness of various types of rural manpower adjustment programs.

APPENDIX II

INDEX OF GENERAL URBAN ADJUSTMENT

Scoring of the Index

The index of General Urban Adjustment was based on four variables which are listed below with the weights for various characteristics.

Variables in Index	Weight
1. Annual family income:	
Annual income above $3,000 a year	0
Annual income below $3,000 a year	-1
2. Number of memberships in organized social groups in the city:	
Member in two or more	+1
Member in one	0
Member in none	-1
3. A rating of attitude toward city life:	
Generally positive	+1
Conflicted	-½
Generally negative	-1
4. A rating of personal adjustment to life:	
Active, creative, selective interaction with environment	+1
Passive, affiliative, accommodating	0
Maladjusted, dependent, exhibiting serious stress symptoms, etc	-1

Respondents were grouped into three General Adjustment Groups: (1) Integrating Group, having algebraic scores of +2 and over; (2) Accommodating Group, having scores of -½ to +1½ inclusive; and (3) Isolated Group, having scores of -1 or less.

The weighting system was derived from theoretical considerations. Weights were chosen to indicate a theoretical positive or negative correlation with adjustment without any attempt to reflect the extent of correlation.

APPENDIX III

PREDICTIVE INDEX TO URBAN ADJUSTMENT

Scoring of the Index

The Predictive Index was based on five variables, which are listed below with the weights for various characteristics. The weights were related to the ratios of Integrating to Isolated members having the particular characteristic. Further research utilizing pre-migration and post-migration observation of the same individuals would be necessary to validate the index.

Variables in Index	Weight
1. Educational level:	
Grade 12 or better	+3
Grade 8 to 11	0
Less than grade 8	-2
2. Previous non-agricultural work experience:	
Full-time, non-agricultural job	+1
None or part time	-2
3. Previous geographic mobility:	
Away from farm for winter	+3
Away one year or more	0
Never away from area	-2
4. Type of decision process concerning migration:	
Short-term, low conflict	+3
Long-term, problem solving	0
Long-term, high conflict	-2
5. Selectivity in choosing a new location:	
Selected Saskatoon for reasons specific to that city	+3
No reasons for choosing Saskatoon that were specific to that city	0

The score for any respondent was the algebraic sum of his scores on the five variables. The maximum high score possible was +13. The minimum low score possible was -8.

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Interviewer Interview No.

Date

1. Within the last ten years have you operated a farm for yourself?

   Yes ☐ No ☐ (discontinue)

   (If "Yes") Did you own the farm?

   Owned all ☐ Owned part ☐ Leased all ☐

2. How many years did you operate a farm?

   Under 3 ☐ (discontinue) ☐ 3-5 ☐ 5-10 ☐ Over 10 ☐

3. How long ago did you stop farming?

   Last month or two ☐

   3 to 5.9 months ☐

   6 to 11.9 months ☐

   1 year to 1.9 years ☐

   2 to 2.9 years ☐

   3 to 3.9 years ☐

   4 to 4.9 years ☐

   5 to 10 years ☐

   Over ten years ☐ (discontinue) ☐

4. (If owned all or part) When you stopped farming what did you do with the farm?

   Sold it ☐ Cash rent ☐ Left it vacant ☐

   Share rent ☐ Lease expired ☐

   Still farm from town ☐ (discontinue) ☐

5. What was the size of your (last) farm in acres?

160 or less ☐ 161-320 ☐ 321-480 ☐

481-640 ☐ Over 640 ☐

(a) How many acres did you own?

6. Where was it located?

(a) How long had you lived in this area?

Where did you grow up?

(b) How did you feel about the farmer's life? (Probe for attitudes toward the land.)

7. During the last few years you were farming: What were your cash crops?

How many acres under cultivation?

How many head of livestock?

Any other cash crops?

Did you have any other sources of income: from rents ☐

non-farm employment ☐

wife's employment ☐

Sources of Income	Estimated Cash Return
Grain: No. of acres	
Livestock: No. of head	
Pigs:	
Other farm products:	
Non-farm employment:	
(a) Husband	
(b) Wife	

Probe: Then your total annual cash income when you were farming was about $

8. (Before you farmed) Had you ever done any other kind of work?

What?

Did you have any special training for this work:
At School? ☐ Apprenticeship? ☐ On Job? ☐

Where you ever in the Armed Forces? Doing what?

(If grew up on farm) Were you ever away from the farm for any periods

of time? Doing what?

9. Now I'd like to get a description of your farm. What kind of land did you have?

What is the country like around there?

(a) What kind of a house did you have?

No. of rooms No. of separate bedrooms
How old was it? years. Who built it?

Amenities	Yes	No		Yes	No
Telephone	☐	☐	Basement	☐	☐
Electricity	☐	☐	Central Heating	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐	Running Water	☐	☐
Television	☐	☐	Flush Toilet	☐	☐

(b) Did you own an automobile? Yes ☐ No ☐
Bought: New ☐ Used ☐ Make ________ Year ______

(c) Did you own a truck? Yes ☐ No ☐
Bought: New ☐ Used ☐ Size ________

(d) Did you own a combine? Owned one ☐ Partnership arrangement ☐
No ☐

(e) How far was your farm from: Grain delivery miles
High school Nearest doctor Main trading centre
Church Paved road

10. Do you mind telling me: How much you sold your machinery for $
(If owned) How much you sold your farm for $
Total $

(a) And how much did you have by the time you settled up any debts, taxes, cost of moving? $

11. When you were farming, were you a member of:

	Yes	No		Yes	No
A church	☐	☐	Snow plow club	☐	☐
4-H clubs	☐	☐	Fraternal organization (Masons, Elks, etc.)	☐	☐
Agricultural society	☐	☐	Other organizations (specify)		
Council or School Board executive	☐	☐			
Curling club	☐	☐			

(a) What community activities did you regularly take part in?

12. Before you stopped farming:

(a) Did you ever get any advice or help from the Agricultural Representative on farming? Yes ☐ No ☐

(b) Did you have any business dealings with a bank or credit agency? Yes ☐ No ☐

(c) Were you a member of a Co-op? What kind? Yes ☐ No ☐

(d) Was it ever necessary in hard times to go to Social Welfare, the Department of Veterans Affairs or the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation for help? Yes ☐ No ☐

(e) Did you ever go to medical doctors, a hospital or a dentist for treatment? Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Did you have any relatives living near enough to visit back and forth? Yes ☐ No ☐

(a) Did you visit much? Yes ☐ Occasionally ☐ No ☐

(b) Did the family members help each other much? Yes ☐ Some ☐ No ☐ In what ways?

14. What did your father do? Farm ☐ Other

(a) What does he do now?

(b) How did your parents feel when you gave up farming?

Did it cause any difficulties for other family members?

(Probe for partnership arrangements, etc.)

15. Would you say that you saw a good deal of other friends and neighbours, a fair amount, or not much, while you were farming?

Good deal ☐ Fair amount ☐ Not much ☐

(a) Could you count on your neighbours for help when you needed it?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Comment:

16. How big was your immediate family when you moved?

(a) Marital status: Single ☐ Married ☐

Widower ☐ Divorced or Separated ☐

(b) Number in immediate family:

(c) Family composition:

Relation to Respondent	At time of Change		Check
	Sex	Age	Still Home
Respondent			
–			
–			
–			
–			
Added since move	Sex	Present Age	
–			
–			
–			

(include roomers and boarders above)

17. How long had you been thinking about the change before you actually gave up farming? (Probe for transitional moves; attempts at other jobs; asking advice; other preparatory efforts; dissatisfactions with situation.)

    (a) Why did it take you that long to make up your mind?

    (b) What were all your reasons for leaving?

        What are the hardest things about farming these days?

    (c) What were the things that held you to the farm?

        What did you like about the farm? (Probe freely.)

    (d) How did your wife feel about the move?

        How did the children?

    (e) What finally made up your mind to move?

18. When you gave up the farm, where did you go first?

    Why there?

    (Get history of moves until family is located in .)

	Dates		
Address	From	To	Reasons for move
—			
—			
—			

19. After you stopped farming, what difficulties did you have in getting settled in town? (First move especially. Probe for employment, housing, cost of living, making friends, etc.)

   (a) And what about your wife -- did she have any difficulties getting used to the change?

   What about the children?

20. How did you happen to come to ( )? (Probe for previous knowledge of the city, friends or relatives here, job opportunities, etc.) Did you consider location in any other city?
Why do you like ( )?

   (a) Before you moved, did you make any trips to the city to arrange for a job? , for a place to live?

   (b) Did you know anyone in ( ) who helped you get settled in the city?

   What did they do for you?

21. How does life in ( ) compare with life on the farm?

   In a smaller town?

   What are the things you like about living here?

   What are the things you dislike?

22. Before you came here, what were your expectations about:

   (a) The kind of work you thought you could do?

   How did this work out?

   (b) The kind of money you would make?

   How does your present income compare with what you thought you would make?

   (c) The kind of life you would lead?

   How do you feel about this now?

23. (If applicable) How did you go about trying to find a job? (Probe for NES, newspapers, friends, applications to various employers, etc.) What did you do first? Next? etc.

(a) What about your wife? Did she look for work? How did she go about it?

24. Since you stopped farming, have there been any times when you were unemployed? Yes ☐ No ☐

(a) (If "Yes") When?

For how long?

(b) (If "Yes") What did you do then?

Did you go to the National Employment Service?

What did they do for you?

Did you get unemployment compensation?

Was there any time when you had to apply for Social Aid?

Did you receive Social Aid? For how long?

25. Since you stopped farming, have you had any kind of job training?
No ☐ Yes ☐ :

School (specify)
Apprenticeship
On-job training
Other (specify)

(a) (If training) Did you have any doubts about taking this training?

What kind of doubts?

How did it work out?

Has it helped you much?

(b) (If no training) Have you considered taking any training?

For what?

Why haven't you gone ahead with it?

26. Now I'd like to know all the jobs you have had since you stopped farming.

Type of Work	Employer (address)	Dates From	To	Beginning & Ending Wage	Reason for Changing or Leaving Job
1)					
2)					
3)					
4)					

Present status: Employed full time ☐ Part time ☐
Unemployed ☐ Retired ☐

27. How about your wife? Has she been employed outside the home since leaving the farm?

Type of Work	Employer (address)	Dates From	To	Beginning & Ending Wage	Reason for Changing or Leaving Job
1)					
2)					
3)					
4)					

Present status: Employed full time ☐ Part time ☐
Unemployed ☐ Retired ☐

28. What about your future plans -- do you intend to:
Live here ☐ Move in a few years ☐ Move soon ☐

(a) (If "Move") Why?

29. What church, if any, do you belong to now?
How often do you go to church? Regularly ☐ At least once a month ☐
Infrequently ☐ Never ☐

Does any member of the family belong to any church organizations at present? Who? What organizations?

Family Member ☐ Organizations ☐ Active ☐ Inactive ☐

30. Have you any relatives living near enough to visit back and forth?
Yes ☐ No ☐

(a) Do you visit much? Yes ☐ Occasionally ☐ No ☐

(b) Do family members help you much here? Yes ☐ Some ☐ No ☐
In what ways?

31. Would you say that you see a good deal of other friends and neighbours here, a fair amount, or not much?
Good deal ☐ Fair amount ☐ Not much ☐

(a) Can you count on your neighbours for help when you need it?
Yes ☐ No ☐

32. Now I'd like to get a description of your present house.

(a) Type: Detached house ☐ Semi-detached ☐ suite ☐ room ☐

(b) Do you own or rent? Own ☐ Rent ☐

(c) No. of rooms No. of separate bedrooms

(d)

Amenities:	Yes	No		Yes	No
Telephone	☐	☐	Basement	☐	☐
Electricity	☐	☐	Central Heating	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐	Running Water	☐	☐
Television	☐	☐	Flush Toilet	☐	☐

33. Do you own a car? Yes ☐ Year No ☐

34. Education: (a) Last grade in school completed by husband
(b) Last grade in school completed by wife

35. Income: (a) Under $ 2,000 a year
(b) 2,000 - 2,999
(c) 3,000 - 4,999
(d) 5,000 - 7,999
(e) 8,000 - 9,999
(f) 10,000 - over

36. Can you give me the names of any other former farmers now living in ( )?

37. Interviewer's description of house and neighbourhood

REFERENCES

ABRAMSON, E.J., and J.A. ABRAMSON. 1964. Three models of social interaction; an unpublished paper delivered to the Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology, Banff.

ABRAMSON, E.J., H.A. CUTTER, R.W. KAUTZ, and M. MENDELSON. 1958. Social power and commitment; a theoretical statement. American Sociological Review. 23(No. 1).

ABRAMSON, J.A. 1965a. A study of downtown Saskatoon; unpublished survey, Saskatoon.

ABRAMSON, J.A. 1965b. A study of the effects of displacement on farmers whose land was purchased for two community pastures in Saskatchewan. Saskatoon, Canadian Centre for Community Studies.

ABRAMSON, J.A., and J. SCOTT. 1967. The power of an image to affect commitment to social action. *In* Multi-disciplinary research on development problems of a low-income agricultural area: an overview. Edited by J.A. Abramson and J. Scott. Saskatoon, Canadian Centre for Community Studies.

BROWN, J.S., H.K. SCHWARZWELLER, and J.J. MANGALAM. 1963. Kentucky mountain migration and the stem-family. Rural Sociology. 28:48-69.

BUCKLEY, H.L., H. RICHARDS, and R. REES. 1966. A resource inventory of Census Division 16 in Saskatchewan. Saskatoon, Canadian Centre for Community Studies.

CANADA. DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY. 1965. Federal-Provincial Rural Development Agreement, 1965-70. Ottawa, Queen's Printer.

CANADA. DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS. 1962-1967. Census of Canada 1961. Ottawa, Queen's Printer.

CANADA. DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS. 1926-1956, 1964. National Accounts, Income and Expenditure. Table 32. Ottawa, Queen's Printer.

CANADIAN WELFARE COUNCIL. 1965a. A preliminary report of rural poverty in four selected areas. Ottawa.

CANADIAN WELFARE COUNCIL. 1965b. Urban need in Canada 1965. Sections I - V. Ottawa.

CANADIAN WELFARE COUNCIL. 1966. Rural need in Canada 1965. Ottawa.

FREEDMAN, R., and D. FREEDMAN. 1956. Farm-reared elements in the non-farm population. Rural Sociology. 21:50-61.

GROVE, F.P. [1965]. Fruit of the land. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.

HALLER, A.O., and C.E. WOLFF. 1963. Personality orientations of farm, village and urban boys. Rural Sociology. 27:275-293.

JAHODA, M. 1958. Current concepts of mental health. New York, Basic Books Inc.

JANSSEN, W.P. 1966. Economic aspects of education in a low-income area. Saskatoon, Canadian Centre for Community Studies.

LEIGHTON, D.C., J.S. HARDING, and C.C. HUGHES. 1963. Rural and urban mental disorders. Canada's Mental Health. 2:5-6.

LEUTHOLD, F.O. 1964. Communication and diffusion of improved farm practices in two northern Saskatchewan farm communities. Saskatoon, Canadian Centre for Community Studies.

LIPSET, S.M. 1955. Social mobility and urbanization. Rural Sociology. 20:220-228.

LIPSET, S.M., and R. BENDIX, eds. 1953. Social mobility and occupational career patterns II: social mobility. *In* Class, Status and Power. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press.

MALZBERG, B., and E.S. LEE. 1956. Migration and mental disease: a study of first admissions to hospitals for mental disease, New York 1939-41. New York, Social Research Council.

MERTON, R.K., and A.S. KITT. 1953. Reference group theory and social mobility. *In* Class, Status and Power. Edited by R. Bendix and S.M. Lipset. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press.

MILLER, S.M. 1963. Poverty and inequality in America: implications for the social services. Child Welfare. 42(No. 9).

ODEGAARD, O. 1932. Emigrating and insanity. Acta Psychiat. et Neur. Scand. Suppl. IV.

REISSMAN, F., J. COHEN, and A. PEARL. 1964. Mental health of the poor. Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press.

ROUTH, G. 1964. Geographic mobility of manpower. Paris, Organization for Economic Co-operative Development.

SASKATCHEWAN. ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE. 1956. The home and family in rural life. Vol. X. Regina.

SCHWARZWELLER, H.K., and J.F. SEGGAR. 1961. Kinship involvement and social psychological adjustment of rural to urban migrants. *In* Migration and belonging. Edited by A.A. Weinberg. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.

SIBLEY, E. 1962. Some demographic clues to stratification. American Sociological Review. 27:322-330.

STOUFFER, S. 1940. Intervening opportunities: a theory relating mobility and distance. American Sociological Review. 5:845-867.

TAYLOR, C.C. 1933. Rural sociology. New York, Harper Brothers.

TIHANYI, E. 1966. An approach to the study of regional labour absorption: the case of Saskatchewan, 1941-61. Saskatoon, Canadian Centre for Community Studies.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE. 1964a. The geographic mobility of labour: a summary report. Washington, D.C., Economic Development Research, Area Development Administration.

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE. 1964b. The propensity to move. Washington, D.C.

WEINBERG, A.A., ed. 1961. Migration and belonging. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.

WHYTE, D.R. 1967. Social determinants of inter-community mobility: an inventory of findings. The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology. 4(No. 1).

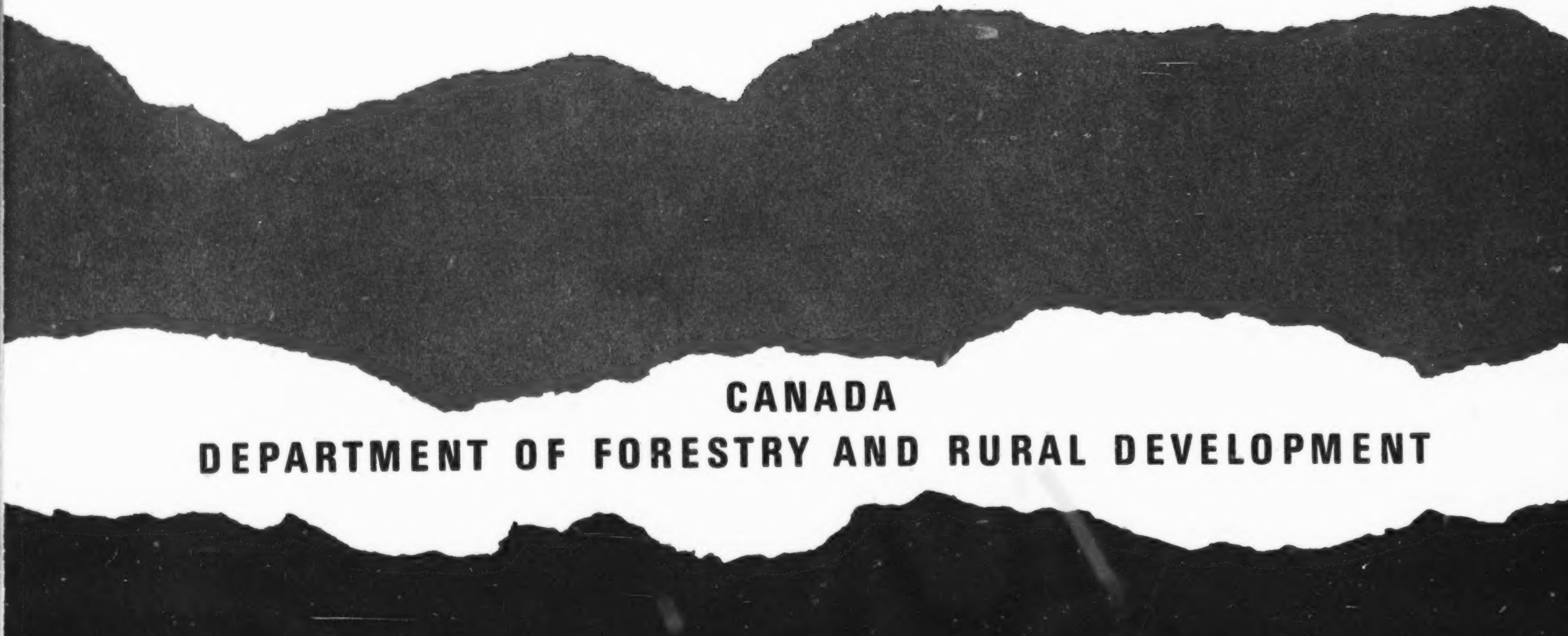
WRIGHT, C.R., and H.H. HYMAN. 1958. Voluntary association memberships of American adults: evidence from national sample surveys. American Sociological Review. 23:284-294.

ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C.
QUEEN'S PRINTER AND CONTROLLER OF STATIONERY
OTTAWA, 1968

Cat. No.: Fo 65-1/4

PRINTED IN CANADA

RE4-7-68-5M



CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT